CICERO PRO LEGE MANILIA

WITH ENGLISH NOTES

BY

THOMAS NASH M.A.

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CICERO'S ORATION

PRO LEGE MANILIA

DELIVERED TO THE ROMAN BURGESSES

ON THE COMMISSION OF CN. POMPEY (DE IMPERIO CN. POMPEII)

EDITED

With an Introduction, Critical Notes on the Text, and Historical and Geographical Notes on the Matter, for the use of Candidates for the Cambridge Local Examinations

BY

THOMAS NASH, M.A.

BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD

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PREFACE.

The object of examinations like the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examinations being, to a large extent, very special, special editions of the subjects presented by the candidates seem needed. Where mental discipline is the chief end proposed, the study of an author assumes an intensity which to a young student may be positively injurious. He is expected to know an amount of collateral information which, to a boy under fifteen, seems unattainable erudition; and the more zealous the boy, the greater perplexity he is involved in, because the more historical allusions he attempts to grapple with, the more do his problems grow. The Third Mithridatic War lands him in the Second and the First, while the slightest allusion to the Marians springs the whole mine of the Civil War upon him. After a while he despairs of finding a path through the labyrinth of Biographical, Geographical, and Archæological dictionaries, and becomes muddled.

I make no apology, therefore, for having freely imported into my notes much matter which the student is often, with cruel irony, told to find in the various dictionaries. Besides, a boy has not often access to the longer works, while the abridgments are often deficient in the little details which most need explanation.

INTRODUCTION.

This speech, the political début of Cicero, was delivered, January, B.C. 66, in support of the proposal made by C. Manilius, a tribune of the people, to confer the provinces of Asia, Cilicia, and Bithynia, and the absolute command of the Mithridatic war, on Pompey. These provinces were then held by Lucullus, Marcius Rex, and Acilius Glabrio. The conduct of the war had been nominally entrusted to Glabrio, but he was so conscious of his incapacity that he did not venture to assume the command conferred on him. Practically, therefore, the Manilian bill proposed to supersede Lucullus, the representative of the high aristocratical party, by Pompey, whom the democratical party still believed themselves to hold in leading-strings.

To the proposer himself, a venal tool and partisan of Pompey, no interest attaches. He spoke, according to orders, as an uncompromising demagogue. Cicero professes to support the bill as a patriotic Roman, above considerations of party. In reality, he was the mouth-piece of the Equites, the capitalists, whose interests were suffering from the reforming policy of Lucullus. The opposition was led by Hortensius and Catulus. But their opposition was little more than a formal protest. They had contended strenuously for the principle of limiting Pompey's power in the debate on the Gabinian bill (B.C. 67). And, as Cicero points

out (§ 52), the decision had been given overwhelmingly against them.

The occasion of the speech was less memorable than the speech itself. The position of the Roman forces in Asia was, no doubt, grave; but the real crisis was in Cicero's own fortunes. And, without taking the same harsh view of Cicero's vain and feeble character as Mommsen, we can see in the spirited partisanship, the cynical misrepresentation of facts, and the profuse panegyric of this speech, the sharp stimulus of personal interest more clearly than the zeal of lofty patriotism. Perhaps a brief comparison of the stages at which the war and Cicero's career respectively stood will throw light on this question.

The war with Mithridates had, thanks to Lucullus, long reached the stage at which real danger was over. Early in the year 73 B.C., indeed, Mithridates, at the head of 120,000 foot-soldiers, trained on the Roman system, and almost undisputed master of the sea, was a most formidable competitor for the supremacy of Asia. But Lucullus paralysed his power on the Granicus, and by the end of 73 his vast forces were annihilated. Nor had the vigorous efforts which he made in 72 B.C. to retrieve his losses placed him in a better position. He saw his armies disperse in panic terror; he had himself barely escaped falling into the enemy's hands, and had to submit to the scarcely less humiliation of throwing himself on the compassion of his son-in-law Tigranes.

From the end of 72 B.C. to the date of this speech some transient gleams of sunshine had brightened the fortunes of Mithridates; but they were wholly due to the Roman mismanagement, and were illusory. Thus, the uncourteous and objectless infraction of etiquette com-

mitted by Appius Claudius defeated the very object of his mission to the Court of Tigranes. He was sent to demand the surrender of Mithridates; he succeeded in making the two kings firm friends; but the only immediate result of their alliance was, that Tigranes, acting on his own responsibility, was severely defeated before Tigranocerta (B.C. 69). After this the command was entrusted to Mithridates, who laboured hard to consolidate his forces and to form an alliance with the Parthian king, Phraates III., who, however, still wavered and remained neutral.

In 68 B.C. the good genius of Lucullus seemed to desert him, and events began to tend to the position on which Manilius relied for justification of his bill. In the summer of that year, it is true, Lucullus inflicted a considerable blow on the two kings in Armenia; but he was unable to follow up his victory, owing to disaffection in his own army. He was even forced to gain time by making a feint on Nisibis, a fortress of immense strength in Mesopotamia. Mithridates, meanwhile, had made a diversion in his own Pontus, defeated Fabius, and shut him up in Cabeira. He then retreated before Triarius, and took up his quarters for the winter in Comana.

In 67 B.C. the precipitancy of Triarius brought upon the Roman armies a galling defeat. Indeed, if Mithridates had not been wounded, the Romans must have been annihilated: as it was, they lost 7,000 men, a disproportionate number of officers, and their camp. But the fruits of victory eluded Mithridates. He was unable to follow up his success, and withdrew to Talaurus. On the other hand, Lucullus stood idle through the mutiny of his men. Thus neither side was able to act decisively, but the advantage of indecision lay

rather with Mithridates. He effected a junction with Tigranes, and was able to overrun nearly all the territory he had ever held.

It must be borne in mind that the efficiency of Lucullus had been scandalously impaired by the factious action of his political enemies at Rome. Thus, nothing could have been unfairer to him than to take the power out of his hands, and to transfer it to Acilius Glabrio, a man of such obvious incompetence that, on his arrival in Bithynia to relieve Lucullus, he shrank from exercising his authority. At the same time, he endeavoured to execute his commission in the spirit, if not to the letter. He remained in the neighbourhood, and issued seditious proclamations to the soldiery, absolving them from their allegiance to Lucullus; and in other ways embarrassed his rival to the utmost of his power.

These, then, briefly, were the circumstances under which C. Manilius proposed his bill, and upon which two criticisms naturally suggest themselves. One is that the crisis was not nearly so grave as it suited the popular party to represent; another, that whatever the gravity of the position, it was chiefly of their own creation. In the first place, the blow to the national vanity was much greater than to the Imperial stability. Mithridates was unable to do anything but overrun a vast area with a mere handful of his former forces, and was making no progress in training his troops to face the Romans on equal terms. Lucullus, as Cicero with suspicious profuseness admits, was one of the finest soldiers of the day. He was perfectly competent to conduct any war to a prosperous issue, while his severity towards the extortionate Publicani made him pre-eminently fit to conduct an Asiatic war. In the

second place, it is sufficient to observe that the Manilian law imputed to Lucullus the incompetence of Glabrio, the very man who had been saddled on him by his enemies. On the whole, the fair conclusion is that a triumph in political intrigue rather than a vindication of paramount right was the object of the Lex Manilia.

We now come to the second question: what motives were most likely to have operated in connecting Cicero with such a measure as we have described? We must bear in mind that Cicero was now close upon his fortieth year, so that he would feel that the time had now come, when he must make a bold effort to gain a footing in that political world, which had hitherto been closed to him. His career thus far had been simply that of a very successful advocate. He had been elected to the offices of quæstor, ædile, and prætor, all of which he had discharged or was discharging with credit, yet without enhancing the reputation he had gained by his brilliant victory over Verres and Hortensius. But these successes in the forum did not necessarily lead to eminence in the rostra, anymore than pre-eminence in Lincoln's Inn leads to the leadership of the House of Commons. This was especially the case with Cicero, who was a *novus homo*. His path to forensic success had been smooth and easy, but between him and the consulship there was a wide gap, and one which sheer merit could never bridge. He could only wring promotion from fear or gratitude; but to choose his friends and enemies was always distressing to Cicero's timid nature. He might have risen by the favour of the Plebs, but his heart was with the Patricians. Besides, whatever may have been the meanness of Cicero's character, he was no demagogue; but the Patricians whom he would have served despised him and his aid.

Fortunately for Cicero, the Manilian debate offered a unique opportunity for judicious trimming. The rising fortunes of Pompey gave him the very opportunity of striking into the political arena he needed. In espousing Pompey's cause he must indeed throw himself into the arms of the plebeian faction, but, at the same time, Pompey's services as a soldier had been so brilliant, and his capacity was so striking, that anyone might speciously claim to rise above party spirit in advocating the cause of so great a man. All might surely be proud of Pompey as a Roman soldier. We need not therefore be too severe on Cicero for taking up the cause of a party whose principles he detested. For one thing, the temptation was irresistible; for another, it was not a question of replacing a good soldier by a bad one, but of superseding a good soldier by a brilliant one, without prejudice to anything more concrete than political fair play.

As a speech, the oration Pro Lege Manilia is an animated and sparkling appeal to party passion. There is indeed the usual formal and lucid statement of the points, but the substance of the speech is the divine merits of Pompey. To praise Pompey was the sum of Cicero's instructions, and he throws himself into the task with unstinted enthusiasm. Sure of his audience, he does not scruple to malign Lucullus with serene effrontery, while there is no extravagance of adulation which he hesitates to heap on Pompey. Read in the cold light of history, the reckless romance which he weaves out of Pompey's life seems like non-metrical dithyrambs, and one cannot help thinking that to a sane hearer, even, the repeated glorification of Pompey's humanity must have seemed a bold flight. Cicero, however, was evidently determined that mere considerations

of fact should not impede him. The oration was, so to say, the diploma speech of a candidate who was staking a great reputation earned in one path on an entirely new venture. We can believe that in Rome, as in England, great lawyers were seldom great statesmen. Hortensius had not maintained in the senate the reputation which he brought from the bar, and the mere ambition of vanquishing an old rival in a new field must have braced Cicero to the strongest effort. Many things were in his favour. In this speech, for one of the very few occasions in his life, he spoke with the full tide of popular enthusiasm. At the same time, he is anxious to make the exclusive Patricians know that he must be conciliated. Naturally, therefore, he speaks with passion and fire. That he was betrayed into exaggeration in the praises he heaped on Pompey he was himself conscious (Or. 29), but he carries off the exaggeration by the wonderful grace of his language. In fine, while we cannot but suspect the genuineness of some of the orator's motives, no one can dispute the genuineness of his eloquence. And, perhaps, even the most virtuous critics need not feel aggrieved that Cicero still survives their masterly exposure of his moral nothingness. The critics are always right, if cheerfully forgotten; while Cicero's tarnished name still flashes with the splendour of immortal genius.

Vectigalia
tributum
publicani

If he asks him, he sees he will refuse
si rogaret, videtur eum negaturum

Section 113 Bradley

quis - anyone always with si, ne
nisi or num

aliquis - some one or other (I do not
know who)
some one at least

quidam - some one (whose name
could be given)

quisquam - anyone (always preceded
by negative or virtual neg.
e.g. in question etc.)

quispiam - anyone (positively)

quivis
quicumque } - anyone you please

The more, the merrier
quo plures eo hilariores

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF SOME PRINCIPAL EVENTS ALLUDED TO IN THIS ORATION.

B.C.

84. Sulla and Mithridates sketch Terms of Peace. End of First Mithridatic War.
83. Murena renews the War with Mithridates. His unsuccessful Campaign, known as the Second Mithridatic War.
82. Pompey's Campaign in Sicily against Carbo.
81. Cn. Pompeius triumphant in Africa; returns to Rome; triumphs.
78. P. Servilius Vatia sent as Proconsul against the Pirates on the S. Coasts of Asia Minor.
77. Pompey sent to reinforce Metellus against Sertorius.
76. The Sertorian War languishes.
75. P. Servilius Vatia subdues the Isauri and takes the Surname of Isauricus. C. Scribonius Curio penetrates to the Danube.
74. Third Mithridatic War breaks out. Lucullus given an extraordinary Command. Mithridates compelled to raise Siege of Cyzicus.
73. Lucullus defeats Mithridates near Cyzicus.
72. Murder of Sertorius by Perperna. Defeat of Perperna, and Collapse of Sertorian War.
71. Mithridates takes Refuge with Tigranes.
70. Mithridatic War languishes. Mithridates busy in Asia Minor: Mithridates organising his Forces in Armenia.
69. Lucullus defeats Tigranes, and takes Tigranocerta.
68. Lucullus defeats Tigranes and Mithridates, and besieges Nisibis.
67. War continues. Lucullus embarrassed by the mutinous Spirit of his Men: he marches to Pontus, where Mithridates had defeated Triarius. Gabinian Law passed.
66. The War with Mithridates still continuing, Manilius brings forward a Bill to give the supreme Command to Pompey.

Pres { Si volunt — disputo
Si vellent — disputarem

Fut { Si volent (voluerint) — disputabo
Si velint — disputem

Past { Si voluerint — disputavi
Si voluissent — disputavissem

Conditional Sentences

So far am I from thinking — ... —
Tantum abest ut ... — ut —

If they wish — I will argue
. wished — I would argue

wish it — I will argue
Should they — I would argue

M. TULLII CICERONIS

PRO

LEGE MANILIA ORATIO.

ANALYSIS.

§§ 1—5. Cicero conciliates the favour of his hearers by reminding them that this is the first occasion on which he has addressed them from the Rostra. He now dedicates to them the practice and address which he has acquired by diligent attention to the interests of his clients in the law-courts. He congratulates himself on the splendid theme that he has for his maiden speech.

He then introduces the subject which they are met to consider, namely, the war with Mithridates; and divides the consideration of the subject under three heads: (A) The category to which the war belongs; (B) the limits of the war; (C) the conduct of the war.

A. §§ 1–19. *The Category to which the War belongs.*—(α) It is a war for prestige, §§ 6–14. (β) It is a war for the financial stability of the empire, §§ 14–17. (γ) It is a war for the protection of Romans abroad, §§ 18–19.

(α) §§ 7–10. It is a standing reproach to Rome that Mithridates should so long defy her power. He has massacred her subjects; he has falsified the triumphs which Sulla and Murena celebrated over him. He has intrigued with the enemies of Rome even in Spain.

§§ 11–14. It is intolerable that Romans should be so degenerate from their ancestors, who sacked Corinth for an insult to a delegate, that they grant impunity to the actual murderer of a consular delegate. What again can be more insulting than his conduct towards Ariobarzanes? Cannot Rome maintain her nominee to a crown in his crown?

(β) §§ 14–17. He has disorganised the whole system of Roman finance, and paralysed the enterprise of the Publicani. He has interrupted agriculture, commerce, and grazing, so that he strikes at the three chief sources of Roman revenue. The interests directly assailed are those of the Publicani, it is true; but on their solidity the finance of the empire rests.

(γ) §§ 18–19. But, besides the Publicani, there are numbers of enterprising men, who have gone out to Asia, in the security of Roman citizenship, to carry out private enterprises, and to found a trade abroad. Their relations with Roman traders are such that, if their credit is impaired, a panic must ensue at home.

B. §§ 20–26. *The Limits of the War.*

§§ 20–21. The war is important enough to be troublesome, though not alarming. We have to thank Lucullus for many important services against Mithridates, which I here cordially acknowledge.

§§ 22–26. But Lucullus has not made good the successes he has gained. Mithridates has saved the nucleus of a powerful establishment, and has formed an alliance with Tigranes. At the same time many nations are up in arms against us, whose hostility it was no part of our policy to provoke. Lastly, there is that stinging and disastrous defeat which Triarius, the lieutenant of Lucullus, has sustained. The general result is, that Lucullus is discredited, and, with a discontented army, is unable to make head against the new and powerful enemies that are everywhere closing in upon him.

C. *The Conduct of the War.*—Pompey is the only competent general. (α) §§ 27–50. States their case. (β) §§ 51–68. Answers the case of their opponents.

(α) Pompey's claim rests upon his unrivalled pre-eminence in the four qualities which a commander should have: (1) his military genius; (2) his soldierly virtues; (3) his prestige; (4) his good genius.

§ 28. As to the first point, the bare enumeration of his exploits is sufficient. There can be no emergency where he will be at fault.

§§ 29–35. As to the second point, the perfect soldier must be indefatigable, prompt, and pertinacious. Now there never was a soldier who displayed these qualities as Pompey has done. We have seen him put to the proof in Italy, Sicily, Africa, Gaul, and Spain; but, above all, the whole world is still ringing with his unmatched campaign against the Cilician pirates; against those pirates who were the terror, not only of the seas, but of our own coasts. Yet, in forty-eight days from setting sail, Pompey had reduced these audacious pirates to perfect submission.

§§ 36–42. Nor is Pompey less liberally endowed with the other qualities which go to make a great soldier. He is the soul of honour, and superior to any temptation. He never abuses his power to enrich himself; so much so, that he has taken away the reproach which a long line of rapacious officers had brought on Rome. Steeled against pleasure, avarice, and every charm of foreign travel, he makes his duty his one aim, and is diverted neither to the right nor to the left. He is equally happy in his dealings with foreigners before and after conquest. His readi-

ness to investigate every complaint, and the graciousness of his manner, make obedience delightful, while his clemency is proverbial.

§§ 43–46. As to the prestige of his name, you yourselves showed what confidence you placed in him last year. The very day he was appointed to the Cilician war the corn-market fell, and even his mere presence in Asia has arrested the growth of the allied kings' power.

§§ 47–48. As to the fourth point, it is best for mortals, in speaking of good genius, to speak reservedly and humbly. Yet I will say that, if the past is any guide to the future, there is no man on whom the divine blessing rests so clearly as on Pompey.

§§ 49–50. Add to all this that Pompey is already in the neighbourhood, and can we hesitate to obey the plain indications of heaven, and place all our interests in his hands?

(β) § 51. It remains for me to answer the objections raised against us by Hortensius and Catulus, men deservedly respected by you as by me.

§§ 52–58. Now Hortensius contends that our principle is bad. If anyone should be entrusted with such tremendous responsibility, he admits Pompey is the man, but he denies our premisses. But I maintain that you have already decided for us, and against him. The Gabinian law settled this controversy. And further, I say the Gabinian law has been amply justified by results. I entreat Hortensius, therefore, to lay aside his gloomy forebodings, and to hope nothing but good from this bill.—And by-the-bye, I think it would be more graceful if he would cease his opposition to the appointment which Gabinius seeks as Pompey's lieutenant.

§§ 59–63. Catulus contends that our proceedings are unconstitutional. He says the risk of staking everything on one man is too great. Well, I admit that perhaps our proposal is a little unconstitutional. But I say this, that some of the greatest glories of the Roman arms have been a trifle unconstitutional. I am afraid Scipio the younger was a sadly unconstitutional fellow; but he sacked Carthage and Numantia.

§§ 63–68. Speaking then to both Hortensius and Catulus, I ask them to withdraw an opposition in such palpable antagonism to your feelings. You showed yourselves truer prophets than they were on the last occasion. I would point them to Pompey's singular fitness for a war in Asia, where none but the sternest natures can resist the numerous temptations to abuse their power. They know what the conduct of our officers has been in Asia, so that our very name stinks there. They know what scandal our prætors have occasioned. And finally, much as they deserve your consideration and respect, I would ask them to pay some deference to the opinions of such men as Servilius, Curio, Lentulus, and Cassius, who are on our side, and to yield this point with a good grace.

§§ 69–71. Peroration.

I. 1. Quamquam mihi semper frequens conspectus vester multo jucundissimus, hic autem locus ad agendum amplissimus, ad dicendum ornatissimus est visus, Quirites, tamen hoc aditu laudis, qui semper optimo cuique maxime patuit, non mea me voluntas adhuc, sed vitae meae rationes ab ineunte aetate susceptae prohibuerunt. Nam quum antea per aetatem nondum hujus auctoritatem loci attingere auderem, statueremque nihil huc nisi perfectum ingenio, elaboratum industria adferri oportere, omne meum tempus amicorum temporibus transmittendum putavi. 2. Ita neque hic locus vacuus unquam fuit ab iis, qui vestram causam defenderent, et meus labor in privatorum periculis caste integreque versatus ex vestro judicio fructum est amplissimum consecutus. Nam quum propter dilationem comitiorum ter praetor primus centuriis cunctis renuntiatus sum, facile intellexi, Quirites, et quid de me judicaretis et quid aliis praescriberetis. Nunc quum et auctoritatis in me tantum sit, quantum vos honoribus mandandis esse voluistis, et ad agendum facultatis tantum, quantum homini vigilanti ex forensi usu prope quotidiana dicendi exercitatio potuit adferre, certe et si quid auctoritatis in me est, ea apud eos utar, qui eam mihi dederunt, et si quid in dicendo consequi possum, iis ostendam potissimum, qui ei quoque rei fructum suo judicio tribuendum esse duxerunt. 3. Atque illud in primis mihi laetandum jure esse video, quod in hac insolita mihi ex hoc loco ratione dicendi causa talis oblata est, in qua oratio deesse nemini possit. Dicendum est enim de Cn. Pompeii singulari eximiaque virtute: hujus autem orationis difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire. Ita mihi non tam copia quam modus in dicendo quaerendus est.

II. 4. Atque ut inde oratio mea proficiscatur, unde haec omnis causa ducitur, bellum grave et periculosum vestris vectigalibus ac sociis a duobus potentissimis regibus infertur, Mithridate et Tigrane, quorum alter relictus, alter lacessitus occasionem sibi ad occupandam Asiam ob-

latam esse arbitrantur. Equitibus Romanis, honestissimis viris, adferuntur ex Asia quotidie litterae, quorum magnae res aguntur in vestris vectigalibus exercendis occupatae: qui ad me pro necessitudine, quae mihi est cum illo ordine, causam rei publicae periculaque rerum suarum detulerunt: 5. Bithyniae, quae nunc vestra provincia est, vicos exustos esse complures: regnum Ariobarzanis, quod finitimum est vestris vectigalibus, totum esse in hostium potestate: L. Lucullum magnis rebus gestis ab eo bello discedere: huic qui successerit non satis esse paratum ad tantum bellum administrandum: unum ab omnibus sociis et civibus ad id bellum imperatorem deposci atque expeti, eumdem hunc unum ab hostibus metui, praeterea neminem.

6. Causa quae sit videtis: nunc quid agendum sit considerate. Primum mihi videtur de genere belli, deinde de magnitudine, tum de imperatore deligendo esse dicendum. Genus est belli ejus modi, quod maxime vestros animos excitare atque inflammare ad persequendi studium debeat: in quo agitur populi Romani gloria, quae vobis a majoribus quum magna in omnibus rebus tum summa in re militari tradita est: agitur salus sociorum atque amicorum, pro qua multa majores vestri magna et gravia bella gesserunt: aguntur certissima populi Romani vectigalia et maxima, quibus amissis et pacis ornamenta et subsidia belli requiretis: aguntur bona multorum civium, quibus est a vobis et ipsorum et rei publicae causa consulendum. III. 7. Et quoniam semper appetentes gloriae praeter ceteras gentes atque avidi laudis fuistis, delenda est vobis illa macula Mithridatico bello superiore concepta, quae penitus jam insedit ac nimis inveteravit in populi Romani nomine, quod is, qui uno die tota in Asia, tot in civitatibus, uno nuntio atque una significatione litterarum cives Romanos necandos trucidandosque denotavit, non modo adhuc poenam nullam suo dignam scelere suscepit, sed ab illo tempore annum jam tertium et vicesimum regnat et ita regnat, ut se non Ponti neque Cappadociae latebris occultare velit, sed emergere ex patrio regno atque

in vestris vectigalibus, hoc est, in Asiae luce versari. 8. Etenim adhuc ita nostri cum illo rege contenderunt imperatores, ut ab illo insignia victoriae, non victoriam reportarent. Triumphavit L. Sulla, triumphavit L. Murena de Mithridate, duo fortissimi viri et summi imperatores, sed ita triumpharunt, ut ille pulsus superatusque regnaret. Verum tamen illis imperatoribus laus est tribuenda quod egerunt, venia danda quod reliquerunt, propterea quod ab eo bello Sullam in Italiam res publica, Murenam Sulla revocavit.

IV. 9. Mithridates autem omne reliquum tempus non ad oblivionem veteris belli, sed ad comparationem novi contulit: qui postea, quum maximas aedificasset ornassetque classes exercitusque permagnos quibuscumque ex gentibus potuisset comparasset et se Bosporanis finitimis suis bellum inferre simularet, usque in Hispaniam legatos ac litteras misit ad eos duces, quibuscum tum bellum gerebamus, ut, quum duobus in locis disjunctissimis maximeque diversis uno consilio a binis hostium copiis bellum terra marique[1] gereretur, vos ancipiti contentione districti de imperio dimicaretis. 10. Sed tamen alterius partis periculum, Sertorianae atque Hispaniensis, quae multo plus firmamenti ac roboris habebat, Cn. Pompeii divino consilio ac singulari virtute depulsum est: in altera parte ita res a L. Lucullo summo viro est administrata, ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati ejus, sed virtuti, haec autem extrema, quae nuper acciderunt, non culpae, sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur. Sed de Lucullo dicam alio loco et ita dicam, Quirites, ut neque vera laus ei detracta oratione mea neque falsa afficta esse videatur: 11. de vestri imperii dignitate atque gloria, quoniam is est exorsus orationis meae, videte quem vobis animum suscipiendum putetis.

V. Majores nostri saepe, mercatoribus aut naviculariis nostris injuriosius tractatis, bella gesserunt: vos tot millibus civium Romanorum uno nuntio atque uno tempore necatis quo tandem animo esse debetis? Legati quod erant appellati superbius, Corinthum patres vestri

totius Graeciae lumen exstinctum esse voluerunt: vos eum regem inultum esse patiemini, qui legatum populi Romani consularem vinculis ac verberibus atque omni supplicio excruciatum necavit? Illi libertatem imminutam civium Romanorum non tulerunt: vos ereptam vitam negligetis? Jus legationis verbo violatum illi persecuti sunt: vos legatum omni supplicio interfectum relinquetis? 12. Videte ne, ut illis pulcherrimum fuit tantam vobis imperii gloriam tradere, sic vobis turpissimum sit id, quod accepistis, tueri et conservare non posse.

Quid, quod salus sociorum summum in periculum ac discrimen vocatur, quo tandem animo ferre debetis? Regno est expulsus Ariobarzanes rex, socius populi Romani atque amicus: imminent duo reges toti Asiae non solum vobis inimicissimi, sed etiam vestris sociis atque amicis, civitates autem omnes, cuncta Asia atque Graecia vestrum auxilium exspectare propter periculi magnitudinem coguntur: imperatorem a vobis certum deposcere, quum praesertim vos alium miseritis, neque audent neque se id facere sine summo periculo posse arbitrantur. 13. Vident et sentiunt hoc idem quod vos, unum virum esse, in quo summa sint omnia, et eum propter esse, quo etiam carent aegrius; cujus adventu ipso atque nomine, tametsi ille ad maritimum bellum venerit, tamen impetus hostium repressos esse intelligunt ac retardatos. Hi vos, quoniam libere loqui non licet, tacite rogant, ut se quoque, sicut ceterarum provinciarum socios, dignos existimetis, quorum salutem tali viro commendetis, atque hoc etiam magis, quod ceteros in provinciam ejus modi homines cum imperio mittimus, ut etiam si ab hoste defendant, tamen ipsorum adventus in urbes sociorum non multum ab hostili expugnatione differant. hunc audiebant antea, nunc praesentem vident tanta temperantia, tanta mansuetudine, tanta humanitate, ut ii beatissimi esse videantur, apud quos ille diutissime commoratur.

VI. 14. Quare si propter socios, nulla ipsi injuria lacessiti, majores nostri cum Antiocho, cum Philippo,

cum Aetolis, cum Poenis bella gesserunt, quanto vos studio convenit, injuriis provocatos, sociorum salutem una cum imperii vestri dignitate defendere, praesertim quum de maximis vestris vectigalibus agatur? Nam ceterarum provinciarum vectigalia, Quirites, tanta sunt, ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus, Asia vero tam opima est ac fertilis, ut et ubertate agrorum et varietate fructuum et magnitudine pastionis et multitudine earum rerum, quae exportentur, facile omnibus terris antecellat. Itaque haec vobis provincia, Quirites, si et belli utilitatem et pacis dignitatem retinere vultis, non modo a calamitate, sed etiam a metu calamitatis est defendenda. 15. Nam in ceteris rebus quum venit calamitas, tum detrimentum accipitur: at in vectigalibus non solum adventus mali, sed etiam metus ipse adfert calamitatem. Nam quum hostium copiae non longe absunt, etiam si irruptio nulla facta est, tamen pecua relinquuntur, agri cultura deseritur, mercatorum navigatio conquiescit: ita neque ex portu neque ex decumis neque ex scriptura vectigal conservari potest: quare saepe totius anni fructus uno rumore periculi atque uno belli terrore amittitur. 16. Quo tandem igitur animo esse existimatis aut eos, qui vectigalia nobis pensitant, aut eos, qui exercent atque exigunt, quum duo reges cum maximis copiis propter adsint? quum una excursio equitatus perbrevi tempore totius anni vectigal auferre possit? quum publicani familias maximas, quas in saltibus habent, quas in agris, quas in portubus atque custodiis, magno periculo se habere arbitrentur? Putatisne vos illis rebus frui posse, nisi eos, qui vobis fructui sunt, conservaritis non solum, ut ante dixi, calamitate, sed etiam calamitatis formidine liberatos? VII. 17. Ac ne illud quidem vobis negligendum est, quod mihi ego extremum proposueram, quum essem de belli genere dicturus, quod ad multorum bona civium Romanorum pertinet, quorum vobis pro vestra sapientia, Quirites, habenda est ratio diligenter. Nam et publicani, homines honestissimi atque ornatissimi, suas rationes et copias in illam provinciam con-

tulerunt, quorum ipsorum per se res et fortunae vobis curae esse debent. Etenim si vectigalia nervos esse rei publicae semper duximus, eum certe ordinem, qui exercet illa, firmamentum ceterorum ordinum recte esse dicemus. 18. Deinde ex ceteris ordinibus homines gnavi atque industrii partim ipsi in Asia negotiantur, quibus vos absentibus consulere debetis, partim eorum in ea provincia pecunias magnas collocatas habent. Est igitur humanitatis vestrae magnum numerum eorum civium calamitate prohibere, sapientiae videre multorum civium calamitatem a re publica sejunctam esse non posse. Etenim primum illud parvi refert, nos publicanis amissis vectigalia postea victoriâ recuperare: neque enim iisdem redimendi facultas erit propter calamitatem neque aliis voluntas propter timorem. 19. Deinde quod nos eadem Asia atque idem iste Mithridates initio belli Asiatici docuit, id quidem certe calamitate docti memoria retinere debemus. Nam tum, quum in Asia res magnas permulti amiserant, scimus Romae solutionê impeditâ fidem concidisse. Non enim possunt una in civitate multi rem ac fortunas amittere, ut non plures secum in eamdem trahant calamitatem. A quo periculo prohibete rem publicam et mihi credite, id quod ipsi videtis haec fides atque haec ratio pecuniarum, quae Romae, quae in foro versatur, implicata est cum illis pecuniis Asiaticis et cohaeret: ruere illa non possunt, ut haec non eodem labefacta motu concidant. Qua re videte num dubitandum vobis sit omni studio ad id bellum incumbere, in quo gloria nominis vestri, salus sociorum, vectigalia maxima, fortunae plurimorum civium conjunctae cum re publica defendantur.

VIII. 20. Quoniam de genere belli dixi, nunc de magnitudine pauca dicam. Potest enim hoc dici, belli genus esse ita necessarium, ut sit gerendum, non esse ita magnum, ut sit pertimescendum. In quo maxime laborandum est ne forte a vobis quae diligentissime providenda sunt contemnenda esse videantur. Atque ut omnes intelligant me L. Lucullo tantum impertire

laudis, quantum forti viro et sapienti homini et magno imperatori debeatur, dico, ejus adventu maximas Mithridati copias, omnibus rebus ornatas atque instructas fuisse, urbemque Asiae clarissimam nobisque amicissimam, Cyzicenorum, obsessam esse ab ipso rege maxima multitudine et oppugnatam vehementissime, quam L. Lucullus virtute, assiduitate, consilio summis obsidionis periculis liberarit: 21. ab eodem imperatore classem magnam et ornatam, quae ducibus Sertorianis ad Italiam studio atque odio inflammata raperetur, superatam esse atque depressam: magnas hostium praeterea copias multis proeliis esse deletas patefactumque nostris legionibus esse Pontum, qui antea populo Romano ex omni aditu clausus fuisset: Sinopen atque Amisum, quibus in oppidis erant domicilia regis, omnibus rebus ornatas ac refertas ceterasque urbes Ponti et Cappadociae permultas uno aditu adventuque esse captas, regem spoliatum regno patrio atque avito ad alios se reges atque ad alias gentes supplicem contulisse, atque haec omnia salvis populi Romani sociis atque integris vectigalibus esse gesta. Satis opinor haec esse laudis atque ita, Quirites, ut hoc vos intelligatis, a nullo istorum, qui huic obtrectant legi atque causae, L. Lucullum similiter ex hoc loco esse laudatum.

IX. 22. Requiretur fortasse nunc quem ad modum, quum haec ita sint, reliquum possit magnum esse bellum. Cognoscite, Quirites: non enim hoc sine causa quaeri videtur. Primum ex suo regno sic Mithridates profugit, ut ex eodem Ponto Medea illa quondam profugisse dicitur, quam praedicant in fuga fratris sui membra in iis locis, qua se parens persequeretur, dissipavisse, ut eorum collectio dispersa maerorque patrius celeritatem persequendi retardaret. Sic Mithridates fugiens maximam vim auri atque argenti pulcherrimarumque rerum omnium, quas et a majoribus acceperat et ipse bello superiore ex tota Asia direptas in suum regnum congesserat, in Ponto omnem reliquit. Haec dum nostri colligunt omnia diligentius, rex ipse e manibus effugit. Ita illum a persequendi studio

maeror, hos laetitia tardavit. 23. Hunc in illo timore et fuga Tigranes, rex Armenius, excepit diffidentemque rebus suis confirmavit et afflictum erexit perditumque recreavit. Cujus in regnum postea quam L. Lucullus cum exercitu venit, plures etiam gentes contra imperatorem nostrum concitatae sunt. Erat enim metus injectus iis nationibus, quas numquam populus Romanus neque lacessendas bello neque temptandas putavit: erat etiam alia gravis atque vehemens opinio, quae animos gentium barbararum pervaserat, fani locupletissimi et religiosissimi diripiendi causa in eas oras nostrum esse exercitum adductum. Ita nationes multae atque magnae novo quodam terrore ac metu concitabantur. Noster autem exercitus, tametsi urbem ex Tigrani regno ceperat et proeliis usus erat secundis, tamen nimia longinquitate locorum ac desiderio suorum commovebatur. 24. Hic jam plura non dicam: fuit enim illud extremum, ut ex iis locis a militibus nostris reditus magis maturus quam processio longior quaereretur. Mithridates autem et suam manum jam confirmarat et eorum, qui se ex ipsius regno collegerant, et magnis adventitiis auxiliis multorum regum et nationum juvabatur. Jam hoc fere sic fieri solere accepimus, ut regum afflictae fortunae facile multorum opes alliciant ad misericordiam, maximeque eorum, qui aut reges sunt aut vivunt in regno, ut iis nomen regale magnum et sanctum esse videatur. 25. Itaque tantum victus efficere potuit, quantum incolumis numquam est ausus optare. Nam quum se in regnum suum recepisset, non fuit eo contentus, quod ei praeter spem acciderat, ut illam, postea quam pulsus erat, terram umquam attingeret, sed in exercitum nostrum clarum atque victorem impetum fecit. Sinite hoc loco, Quirites, sicut poëtae solent, qui res Romanas scribunt, praeterire me nostram calamitatem, quae tanta fuit, ut eam ad aures L. Luculli imperatoris non ex proelio nuntius, sed ex sermone rumor afferret. 26. Hic in illo ipso malo gravissimaque belli offensione L. Lucullus, qui tamen aliqua ex parte iis incommodis mederi

fortasse potuisset, vestro jussu coactus, quod imperii diuturnitati modum statuendum vetere exemplo putavistis, partem militum, qui jam stipendiis confecti erant, dimisit, partem Glabrioni tradidit. Multa praetereo consulto, sed ea vos conjectura perspicite, quantum illud bellum factum putetis, quod conjungant reges potentissimi, renovent agitatae nationes, suscipiant integrae gentes, novus imperator noster accipiat vetere exercitu pulso. X. 27. Satis mihi multa verba fecisse videor, qua re esset hoc bellum genere ipso necessarium, magnitudine periculosum: restat ut de imperatore ad id bellum deligendo ac tantis rebus praeficiendo dicendum esse videatur.

Utinam, Quirites, virorum fortium atque innocentium copiam tantam haberetis, ut haec vobis deliberatio difficilis esset, quemnam potissimum tantis rebus ac tanto bello praeficiendum putaretis! Nunc vero quum sit unus Cn. Pompeius, qui non modo eorum hominum, qui nunc sunt, gloriam, sed etiam antiquitatis memoriam virtute superarit, quae res est quae cujusquam animum in hac causa dubium facere possit? 28. Ego enim sic existimo, in summo imperatore quattuor has res inesse oportere, scientiam rei militaris, virtutem, auctoritatem, felicitatem. Quis igitur hoc homine scientior umquam aut fuit aut esse debuit? qui e ludo atque e pueritiae disciplinis bello maximo atque acerrimis hostibus ad patris exercitum atque in militiae disciplinam profectus est, qui extremâ pueritiâ miles in exercitu fuit summi imperatoris, ineuntê adolescentiâ maximi ipse exercitus imperator, qui saepius cum hoste conflixit quam quisquam cum inimico concertavit, plura bella gessit quam ceteri legerunt, plures provincias confecit quam alii concupiverunt, cujus adolescentia ad scientiam rei militaris non alienis praeceptis, sed suis imperiis, non offensionibus belli, sed victoriis, non stipendiis, sed triumphis est erudita. Quod denique genus esse belli potest, in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae? Civile, Africanum, Transalpinum, Hispaniense mixtum ex civibus atque

ex bellicosissimis nationibus, servile, navale bellum, varia et diversa genera et bellorum et hostium, non solum gesta ab hoc uno, sed etiam confecta, nullam rem esse declarant in usu positam militari, quae hujus viri scientiam fugere possit.

XI. 29. Jam vero virtuti Cn. Pompeii quae potest oratio par inveniri? Quid est quod quisquam aut illo dignum aut vobis novum aut cuiquam inauditam possit afferre? Neque enim illae sunt solae virtutes imperatoriae, quae vulgo existimantur, labor in negotiis, fortitudo in periculis, industria in agendo, celeritas in conficiendo, consilium in providendo: quae tanta sunt in hoc uno, quanta in omnibus reliquis imperatoribus, quos aut vidimus aut audivimus, non fuerunt. 30. Testis est Italia, quam ille ipse victor L. Sulla hujus virtute et subsidio confessus est liberatam: testis est Sicilia, quam multis undique cinctam periculis non terrore belli, sed consilii celeritate explicavit: testis est Africa, quae magnis oppressa hostium copiis eorum ipsorum sanguine redundavit: testis est Gallia, per quam legionibus nostris iter in Hispaniam Gallorum internecione patefactum est: testis est Hispania, quae saepissime plurimos hostes ab hoc superatos prostratosque conspexit: testis est iterum et saepius Italia, quae quum servili bello taetro periculosoque premeretur, ab hoc auxilium absente expetivit: quod bellum exspectatione ejus attenuatum atque imminutum est, adventu sublatum ac sepultum: 31. testes nunc vero jam omnes orae atque omnes exterae gentes ac nationes, denique maria omnia quum universa tum in singulis oris omnes sinus atque portus. Quis enim toto mari locus per hos annos aut tam firmum habuit praesidium, ut tutus esset, aut tam fuit abditus, ut lateret? Quis navigavit qui non se aut mortis aut servitutis periculo committeret, quum aut hieme aut referto praedonum mari navigaret? Hoc tantum bellum, tam turpe, tam vetus, tam late divisum atque dispersum quis umquam arbitraretur aut ab omnibus imperatoribus uno anno aut omnibus annis ab uno

imperatore confici posse? 32. Quam provinciam tenuistis a praedonibus liberam per hosce annos? quod vectigal vobis tutum fuit? quem socium defendistis? cui praesidio classibus vestris fuistis? quam multas existimatis insulas esse desertas? quam multas aut metu relictas aut a praedonibus captas urbes esse sociorum? XII. Sed quid ego longinqua commemoro? Fuit hoc quondam, fuit proprium populi Romani, longe a domo bellare et propugnaculis imperii sociorum fortunas, non sua tecta defendere. Sociis ego nostris mare per hos annos clausum fuisse dicam, quum exercitus vestri numquam a Brundisio nisi hieme summa transmiserint? Qui ad vos ab exteris nationibus venirent, captos querar, quum legati populi Romani redempti sint? Mercatoribus tutum mare non fuisse dicam, quum duodecim secures in praedonum potestatem pervenerint? 33. Cnidum aut Colophonem aut Samum, nobilissimas urbes, innumerabilesque alias captas esse commemorem, quum vestros portus atque eos portus, quibus vitam ac spiritum ducitis, in praedonum fuisse potestatem sciatis? An vero ignoratis portum Caietae celeberrimum ac plenissimum navium inspectante praetore a praedonibus esse direptum? Ex Miseno autem ejus ipsius liberos, qui cum praedonibus antea ibi bellum gesserat, a prædonibus esse sublatos? Nam quid ego Ostiense incommodum atque illam labem atque ignominiam rei publicae querar, quum prope inspectantibus vobis classis ea, cui consul populi Romani praepositus esset, a praedonibus capta atque oppressa est? Pro di immortales! tantamne unius hominis incredibilis ac divina virtus tam brevi tempore lucem adferre rei publicae potuit, ut vos, qui modo ante ostium Tiberinum classem hostium videbatis, ii nunc nullam intra Oceani ostium praedonum navem esse audiatis? 34. Atque haec quâ celeritate gesta sint quamquam videtis, tamen a me in dicendo praetereunda non sunt. Quis enim umquam aut obeundi negotii aut consequendi quaestus studio tam brevi tempore tot loca adire, tantos cursus conficere potuit, quam celeriter Cn.

Pompeio duce tanti belli impetus navigavit? qui nondum tempestivo ad navigandum mari Siciliam adiit, Africam exploravit, inde Sardiniam cum classe venit atque haec tria frumentaria subsidia rei publicae firmissimis praesidiis classibusque munivit. 35. Inde quum se in Italiam recepisset, duabus Hispaniis et Gallia Transalpina praesidiis ac navibus confirmata, missis item in oram Illyrici maris et in Achaiam omnemque Graeciam navibus Italiae duo maria maximis classibus firmissimisque praesidiis adornavit, ipse autem ut Brundisio profectus est, undequinquagesimo die totam ad imperium populi Romani Ciliciam adjunxit: omnes, qui ubique praedones fuerunt, partim capti interfectique sunt, partim unius hujus se imperio ac potestati dediderunt. Idem Cretensibus, quum ad eum usque in Pamphyliam legatos deprecatoresque misissent, spem deditionis non ademit obsidesque imperavit. Ita tantum bellum, tam diuturnum, tam longe lateque dispersum, quo bello omnes gentes ac nationes premebantur, Cn. Pompeius extrema hieme apparavit, ineunte vere suscepit, media aestate confecit.

XIII. 36. Est haec divina atque incredibilis virtus imperatoris. Quid ceterae, quas paullo ante commemorare coeperam, quantae atque quam multae sunt? Non enim bellandi virtus solum in summo ac perfecto imperatore quaerenda est, sed multae sunt artes eximiae hujus administrae comitesque virtutis. Ac primum quantâ innocentiâ debent esse imperatores? quanta deinde in omnibus rebus temperantia, quanta fide, quantâ facilitate, quanto ingenio, quanta humanitate? Quae breviter qualia sint in Cn. Pompeio consideremus: summa enim omnia sunt, Quirites, sed ea magis ex aliorum contentione quam ipsa per sese cognosci atque intelligi possunt. 37. Quem enim imperatorem possumus ullo in numero putare, cujus in exercitu centuriatus veneant atque venierint? Quid hunc hominem magnum aut amplum de re publica cogitare, qui pecuniam ex aerario depromptam ad

bellum administrandum aut propter cupiditatem provinciae magistratibus diviserit aut propter avaritiam Romae in quaestu reliquerit? Vestra admurmuratio facit, Quirites, ut agnoscere videamini qui haec fecerint: ego autem nomino neminem: quare irasci mihi nemo poterit, nisi qui ante de se voluerit confiteri. Itaque propter hanc avaritiam imperatorum quantas calamitates, quocumque ventum est, nostri exercitus ferant quis ignorat? 38. Itinera quae per hosce annos in Italia per agros atque oppida civium Romanorum nostri imperatores fecerint recordamini: tum facilius statuetis quid apud exteras nationes fieri existimetis. Utrum plures arbitramini per hosce annos militum vestrorum armis hostium urbes an hibernis sociorum civitates esse deletas? Neque enim potest exercitum is continere imperator, qui se ipse non continet, neque severus esse in judicando, qui alios in se severos esse judices non vult. 39. Hic miramur hunc hominem tantum excellere ceteris, cujus legiones sic in Asiam pervenerint, ut non modo manus tanti exercitus, sed ne vestigium quidem cuiquam pacato nocuisse dicatur? Jam vero quem ad modum milites hibernent quotidie sermones ac litterae perferuntur: non modo ut sumptum faciat in militem nemini vis adfertur, sed ne cupienti quidem cuiquam permittitur. Hiemis enim, non avaritiae perfugium majores nostri in sociorum atque amicorum tectis esse voluerunt. XIV. 40. Age vero ceteris in rebus quali sit temperantia considerate. Unde illam tantam celeritatem et tam incredibilem cursum inventum putatis? Non enim illum eximia vis remigum aut ars inaudita quaedam gubernandi aut venti aliqui novi tam celeriter in ultimas terras pertulerunt, sed eae res, quae ceteros remorari solent, non retardarunt: non avaritia ab instituto cursu ad praedam aliquam devocavit, non libido ad voluptatem, non amoenitas ad delectationem, non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem, non denique labor ipse ad quietem: postremo signa et tabulas ceteraque ornamenta Graecorum oppidorum, quae ceteri tollenda esse arbitrantur, ea

sibi ille ne visenda quidem existimavit. 41. Itaque omnes nunc in iis locis Cn. Pompeium sicut aliquem non ex hac urbe missum, sed de coelo delapsum intuentur: nunc denique incipiunt credere fuisse homines Romanos hâc quondam continentiâ, quod jam nationibus exteris incredibile ac falso memoriae proditum videbatur: nunc imperii vestri splendor illis gentibus lucem adferre coepit: nunc intelligunt non sine causa majores suos tum, quum ea temperantia magistratus habebamus, servire populo Romano quam imperare aliis maluisse. Jam vero ita faciles aditus ad eum privatorum, ita liberae querimoniae de aliorum injuriis esse dicuntur, ut is, qui dignitate principibus excellit, facilitate infimis par esse videatur. 42. Jam quantum consilio, quantum dicendi gravitate et copia valeat, in quo ipso inest quaedam dignitas imperatoriā, vos, Quirites, hoc ipso ex loco saepe cognostis. Fidem vero ejus quantam inter socios existimari putatis, quam hostes omnes omnium generum sanctissimam judicarint? Humanitate jam tanta est, ut difficile dictu sit utrum hostes magis virtutem ejus pugnantes timuerint an mansuetudinem victi dilexerint. Et quisquam dubitabit quin huic hoc tantum bellum transmittendum sit, qui ad omnia nostrae memoriae bella conficienda divino quodam consilio natus esse videatur?

XV. 43. Et quoniam auctoritas quoque in bellis administrandis multum atque in imperio militari valet, certe nemini dubium est quin ea re idem ille imperator plurimum possit. Vehementer autem pertinere ad bella administranda quid hostes, quid socii de imperatoribus nostris existiment quis ignorat, quum sciamus homines in tantis rebus ut aut contemnant aut metuant aut oderint aut ament, opinione non minus et fama quam aliqua ratione certa commoveri? Quod igitur nomen umquam in orbe terrarum clarius fuit? cujus res gestae pares? de quo homine vos, id quod maxime facit auctoritatem, tanta et tam praeclara judicia fecistis? 44. An vero ullam usquam esse oram tam desertam putatis quo non illius dici fama pervaserit,

quum universus populus Romanus refertò foró completisque omnibus templis, ex quibus hic locus conspici potest, unum sibi ad commune omnium gentium bellum Cn. Pompeium imperatorem depoposcit? Itaque ut plura non dicam neque aliorum exemplis confirmem quantum hujus auctoritas valeat in bello, ab eodem Cn. Pompeio omnium rerum egregiarum exempla sumantur: qui quo die a vobis maritimo bello praepositus est imperator, tanta repente vilitas annonae ex summa inopia et caritate rei frumentariae consecuta est unius hominis spe ac nomine, quantam vix ex summa ubertate agrorum diuturna pax efficere potuisset. 45. Jam acceptâ in Ponto calamitate ex eo proelio, de quo vos paulo ante invitus admonui, quum socii pertimuissent, hostium opes animique crevissent, satis firmum praesidium provincia non haberet, amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen ejus temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones fortuna populi Romani attulisset. Hujus adventus et Mithridatem insolitâ inflammatum victoriâ continuit et Tigranem magnis copiis minitantem Asiae retardavit. Et quisquam dubitabit quid virtute perfecturus sit qui tantum auctoritate perfecerit? aut quam facile imperio atque exercitu socios et vectigalia conservaturus sit qui ipso nomine ac rumore defenderit? XVI. 46. Age vero illa res quantam declarat ejusdem hominis apud hostes populi Romani auctoritatem, quod ex locis tam longinquis tamque diversis tam brevi tempore omnes huic se uni dediderunt? quod Cretensium legati, quum in eorum insula noster imperator exercitusque esset, ad Cn. Pompeium in ultimas prope terras venerunt eique se omnes Cretensium civitates dedere velle dixerunt? Quid? idem iste Mithridates nonne ad eumdem Cn. Pompeium legatum usque in Hispaniam misit? eum, quem Pompeius legatum semper judicavit, ii, quibus erat permolestum ad eum potissimum esse missum, speculatorem quam legatum judicari maluerunt. Potestis igitur jam constituere, Quirites, hanc auctoritatem multis postea rebus gestis magnisque vestris judiciis amplificatam, quantum apud

illos reges, quantum apud exteras nationes valituram esse existimetis.

47. Reliquum est ut de felicitate, quam praestare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus. Ego enim sic existimo: Maximo, Marcello, Scipioni, Mario, et ceteris magnis imperatoribus non solum propter virtutem, sed etiam propter fortunam saepius imperia mandata atque exercitus esse commissos. Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adjuncta fortuna. De hujus autem hominis felicitate, de quo nunc agimus, hac utar moderatione dicendi, non ut in illius potestate fortunam positam esse dicam, sed ut praeterita meminisse, reliqua sperare videamur, ne aut invisa diis immortalibus oratio nostra aut ingrata esse videatur. 48. Itaque non sum praedicaturus quantas ille res domi militiae, terra marique, quantaque felicitate gesserit, ut ejus semper voluntatibus non modo cives adsenserint, socii obtemperarint, hostes obedierint, sed etiam venti tempestatesque obsecundarint: hoc brevissime dicam, neminem umquam tam impudentem fuisse, qui ab diis immortalibus tot et tantas res tacitus auderet optare, quot et quantas di immortales ad Cn. Pompeium detulerunt. Quod ut illi proprium ac perpetuum sit, Quirites, quum communis salutis atque imperii tum ipsius hominis causa, sicuti facitis, velle et optare debetis.

49. Quare quum et bellum ita sit necessarium, ut negligi non possit, ita magnum, ut accuratissime sit administrandum, et quum ei imperatorem praeficere possitis, in quo sit eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna, dubitatis, Quirites, quin hoc tantum boni, quod vobis ab diis immortalibus oblatum et datum est, in rem publicam conservandam atque amplificandam conferatis? XVII. 50. Quod si Romae Cn. Pompeius privatus esset hoc tempore, tamen ad tantum bellum is erat deligendus

atque mittendus: nunc quum ad ceteras summas utilitates haec quoque opportunitas adjungatur, ut in iis ipsis locis adsit, ut habeat exercitum, ut ab iis, qui habent, accipere statim possit, quid exspectamus? aut cur non ducibus diis immortalibus eidem, cui cetera summa cum salute rei publicae commissa sunt, hoc quoque bellum regium committamus?

51. At enim vir clarissimus, amantissimus rei publicae, vestris beneficiis amplissimis affectus, Q. Catulus, itemque summis ornamentis honoris, fortunae, virtutis, ingenii praeditus, Q. Hortensius, ab hac ratione dissentiunt: quorum ego auctoritatem apud vos multis locis plurimum valuisse et valere oportere confiteor, sed in hac causa, tametsi cognostis auctoritates contrarias virorum fortissimorum et clarissimorum, tamen omissis auctoritatibus ipsa re ac ratione exquirere possumus veritatem, atque hoc facilius, quod ea omnia, quae a me adhuc dicta sunt, iidem isti vera esse concedunt, et necessarium bellum esse et magnum et in uno Cn. Pompeio summa esse omnia. 52. Quid igitur ait Hortensius? Si uni omnia tribuenda sint, dignissimum esse Pompeium, sed ad unum tamen omnia deferri non oportere. Obsolevit jam ista oratio, re multo magis quam verbis refutata. Nam tu idem, Q. Hortensi, multa pro tua summa copia ac singulari facultate dicendi et in senatu contra virum fortem, A. Gabinium, graviter ornateque dixisti, quum is de uno imperatore contra praedones constituendo legem promulgasset, et ex hoc ipso loco permulta item contra eam legem verba fecisti. 53. Quid? tum, per deos immortales! si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus? An tibi tum imperium hoc esse videbatur, quum populi Romani legati, quaestores praetoresque capiebantur? quum ex omnibus provinciis commeatu et privato et publico prohibebamur? quum ita clausa nobis erant maria omnia, ut neque privatam rem transmarinam neque publicam jam obire possemus?

XVIII. 54. Quae civitas antea umquam fuit, non dico Atheniensium, quae satis late quondam mare tenuisse dicitur, non Karthaginiensium, qui permultum classe ac maritimis rebus valuerunt, non Rhodiorum, quorum usque ad nostram memoriam disciplina navalis et gloria remansit, quae civitas umquam antea tam tenuis, tam parva insula fuit quae non portus suos et agros et aliquam partem regionis atque orae maritimae per se ipsa defenderet? At hercule aliquot annos continuos ante legem Gabiniam ille populus Romanus, cujus usque ad nostram memoriam nomen invictum in navalibus pugnis permanserit, magna ac multo maxima parte non modo utilitatis, sed dignitatis atque imperii caruit: 55. nos, quorum majores Antiochum regem classe Persenque superarunt, omnibusque navalibus pugnis Karthaginienses, homines in maritimis rebus exercitatissimos paratissimosque, vicerunt, ii nullo in loco jam praedonibus pares esse poteramus: nos, qui antea non modo Italiam tutam habebamus, sed omnes socios in ultimis oris auctoritate nostri imperii salvos praestare poteramus, tum, quum insula Delos, tam procul a nobis in Aegaeo mari posita, quo omnes undique cum mercibus atque oneribus commeabant, referta divitiis, parva, sine muro, nihil timebat, iidem non modo provinciis atque oris Italiae maritimis ac portubus nostris, sed etiam Appia jam via carebamus: et iis temporibus non pudebat magistratus populi Romani in hunc ipsum locum escendere, quum eum nobis majores nostri exuviis nauticis et classium spoliis ornatum reliquissent.

XIX. 56. Bono te animo tum, Q. Hortensi, populus Romanus et ceteros, qui erant in eadem sententia, dicere existimavit ea, quae sentiebatis: sed tamen in salute communi idem populus Romanus dolori suo maluit quam auctoritati vestrae obtemperare. Itaque una lex, unus vir, unus annus non modo nos illa miseria ac turpitudine liberavit, sed etiam effecit, ut aliquando vere videremur omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare. 57. Quo mihi etiam indignius

videtur obtrectatum esse adhuc, Gabinio dicam anne Pompeio, an utrique, id quod est verius, ne legaretur A. Gabinius Cn. Pompeio expetenti ac postulanti. Utrum ille, qui postulat ad tantum bellum legatum quem velit, idoneus non est qui impetret, quum ceteri ad expilandos socios diripiendasque provincias quos voluerunt legatos eduxerint; an ipse, cujus lege salus ac dignitas populo Romano atque omnibus gentibus constituta est, expers esse debet gloriae ejus imperatoris atque ejus exercitus, qui consilio ipsius ac periculo est constitutus? 58. An C. Falcidius, Q. Metellus, Q. Caelius Latiniensis, Cn. Lentulus, quos omnes honoris causa nomino, quum tribuni plebi fuissent, anno proximo legati esse potuerunt: in uno Gabinio sunt tam diligentes, qui in hoc bello, quod lege Gabinia geritur, in hoc imperatore atque exercitu, quem per vos ipse constituit, etiam praecipuo jure esse deberet? De quo legando consules spero ad senatum relaturos: qui si dubitabunt aut gravabuntur, ego me profiteor relaturum, neque me impediet cujusquam inimicum edictum, quo minus vobis fretus vestrum jus beneficiumque defendam, neque praeter intercessionem quidquam audiam, de qua, ut arbitror, isti ipsi, qui minantur, etiam atque etiam quid liceat considerabunt. Mea quidem sententia, Quirites, unus A. Gabinius belli maritimi rerumque gestarum Cn. Pompeio socius ascribitur, propterea quod alter uni illud bellum suscipiendum vestris suffragiis detulit, alter delatum susceptumque confecit.

XX. 59. Reliquum est ut de Q. Catuli auctoritate et sententia dicendum esse videatur. Qui quum ex vobis quaereret, si in uno Cn. Pompeio omnia poneretis, si quid eo factum esset, in quo spem essetis habituri, cepit magnum suae virtutis fructum ac dignitatis, quum omnes una prope voce in eo ipso vos spem habituros esse dixistis. Etenim talis est vir, ut nulla res tanta sit ac tam difficilis, quam ille non et consilio regere et integritate tueri et virtute conficere possit. Sed in hoc ipso ab eo vehementissime dissentio, quod

quo minus certa est hominum ac minus diuturna vita, hoc magis res publica, dum per deos immortales licet, frui debet summi viri vita atque virtute.—60. At enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta majorum.—Non dicam hoc loco majores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse; non dicam duo bella maxima, Punicum atque Hispaniense, ab uno imperatore esse confecta duasque urbes potentissimas, quae huic imperio maxime minitabantur, Karthaginem atque Numantiam, ab eodem Scipione esse deletas, non commemorabo nuper ita vobis patribusque vestris esse visum, ut in uno C. Mario spes imperii poneretur, ut idem cum Jugurtha, idem cum Cimbris, idem cum Teutonis bellum administraret: 61. in ipso Cn. Pompeio, in quo novi constitui nihil vult Q. Catulus, quam multa sint nova summâ Q. Catuli voluntate constituta recordamini.

XXI. Quid tam novum quam adolescentulum privatum exercitum difficili rei publicae tempore conficere? Confecit. Huic praeesse? Praefuit. Rem optime ductu suo gerere? Gessit. Quid tam praeter consuetudinem quam homini peradolescenti, cujus aetas a senatorio gradu longe abesset, imperium atque exercitum dari, Siciliam permitti atque Africam bellumque in ea provincia administrandum? Fuit in his provinciis singulari innocentiâ, gravitate, virtute: bellum in Africa maximum confecit, victorem exercitum deportavit. Quid vero tam inauditum quam equitem Romanum triumphare? At eam quoque rem populus Romanus non modo vidit, sed omnium etiam studio visendam et concelebrandam putavit. 62. Quid tam inusitatum quam ut quum duo consules clarissimi fortissimique essent, eques Romanus ad bellum maximum formidolosissimumque pro consule mitteretur? Missus est. Quo quidem tempore, quum esset non nemo in senatu qui diceret *non oportere mitti hominem privatum pro consule*, L. Philippus dixisse dicitur *non se illum suâ sententia pro consule, sed pro consulibus*

mittere. Tanta in eo rei publicae bene gerendae spes constituebatur, ut duorum consulum munus unius adolescentis virtuti committeretur. Quid tam singulare quam ut ex senatus consulto legibus solutus consul ante fieret, quam ullum alium magistratum per leges capere licuisset? quid tam incredibile quam ut iterum eques Romanus ex senatus consulto triumpharet? Quae in omnibus hominibus nova post hominum memoriam constituta sunt, ea tam multa non sunt quam haec, quae in hoc uno homine videmus. 63. Atque haec tot exempla tanta ac tam nova profecta sunt in eumdem hominem a Q. Catuli atque a ceterorum ejusdem dignitatis amplissimorum hominum auctoritate.

XXII. Quare videant ne sit periniquum et non ferundum, illorum auctoritatem de Cn. Pompeii dignitate a vobis comprobatam semper esse, vestrum ab illis de eodem homine judicium populique Romani auctoritatem improbari, praesertim quum jam suo jure populus Romanus in hoc homine suam auctoritatem vel contra omnes, qui dissentiunt, possit defendere, propterea quod iisdem istis reclamantibus vos unum illum ex omnibus delegistis quem bello praedonum praeponeretis. 64. Hoc si vos temere fecistis et rei publicae parum consuluistis, recte isti studia vestra suis consiliis regere conantur: sin autem vos plus tum in re publica vidistis, vos iis repugnantibus per vosmet ipsos dignitatem huic imperio, salutem orbi terrarum attulistis, aliquando isti principes et sibi et ceteris populi Romani universi auctoritati parendum esse fateantur. Atque in hoc bello Asiatico et regio non solum militaris illa virtus, quae est in Cn. Pompeio singularis, sed aliae quoque virtutes animi magnae et multae requiruntur. Difficile est in Asia, Cilicia, Syria regnisque interiorum nationum ita versari nostrum imperatorem, ut nihil aliud nisi de hoste ac de laude cogitet. Deinde etiam, si qui sunt pudore ac temperantia moderatiores, tamen eos esse tales propter multitudinem cupidorum hominum nemo arbitratur. 65. Difficile est dictu, Quirites, quanto in odio simus apud exteras nationes propter eorum, quos

ad eas per hos annos cum imperio misimus, libidines et injurias. Quod enim fanum putatis in illis terris nostris magistratibus religiosum, quam civitatem sanctam, quam domum satis clausam ac munitam fuisse? urbes jam locupletes et copiosae requiruntur, quibus causa belli propter diripiendi cupiditatem inferatur. 66. Libenter haec coram cum Q. Catulo et Q. Hortensio, summis et clarissimis viris, disputarem: noverunt enim sociorum vulnera, vident eorum calamitates, querimonias audiunt. Pro sociis vos contra hostes exercitum mittere putatis an hostium simulatione contra socios atque amicos? Quae civitas est in Asia quae non modo imperatoris aut legati, sed unius tribuni militum animos ac spiritus capere possit?

XXIII. Quare, etiam si quem habetis qui collatis signis exercitus regios superare posse videatur, tamen nisi erit idem, qui se a pecuniis sociorum, qui ab eorum conjugibus ac liberis, qui ab ornamentis fanorum atque oppidorum, qui ab auro gazaque regia manus, oculos, animum cohibere possit, non erit idoneus qui ad bellum Asiaticum regiumque mittatur. 67. Ecquam putatis civitatem pacatam fuisse quae locuples sit? ecquam esse locupletem quae istis pacata esse videatur? Ora maritima, Quirites, Cn. Pompeium non solum propter rei militaris gloriam, sed etiam propter animi continentiam requisivit. Videbat enim praetores locupletari quotannis pecunia publica praeter paucos, neque eos quidquam aliud adsequi classium nomine nisi ut detrimentis accipiendis majore adfici turpitudine videremur. Nunc qua cupiditate homines in provincias et quibus jacturis, quibus conditionibus proficiscantur ignorant videlicet isti, qui ad unum deferenda omnia esse non arbitrantur? Quasi vero Cn. Pompeium non quum suis virtutibus tum etiam alienis vitiis magnum esse videamus. 68. Qua re nolite dubitare quin huic uni credatis omnia, qui inter tot annos unus inventus sit quem socii in urbes suas cum exercitu venisse gaudeant.

Quod si auctoritatibus hanc causam, Quirites, con-

firmandam putatis, est vobis auctor vir bellorum omnium maximarumque rerum peritissimus, P. Servilius, cujus tantae res gestae terra marique exstiterunt, ut quum de bello deliberetis, auctor vobis gravior esse nemo debeat; est C. Curio, summis vestris beneficiis maximisque rebus gestis, summo ingenio et prudentia praeditus; est Cn. Lentulus, in quo omnes pro amplissimis vestris honoribus summum consilium, summam gravitatem esse cognostis; est C. Cassius, integritate, virtute, constantia singulari. Quare videte ut horum auctoritatibus illorum orationi, qui dissentiunt, respondere posse videamur.

XXIV. 69. Quae quum ita sint, C. Manili, primum istam tuam et legem et voluntatem et sententiam laudo vehementissimeque comprobo: deinde te hortor, ut, auctore populo Romano, maneas in sententia neve cujusquam vim aut minas pertimescas. Primum in te satis esse animi perseverantiaeque arbitror: deinde, quum tantam multitudinem cum tanto studio adesse videamus, quantam iterum nunc in eodem homine praeficiendo videmus, quid est quod aut de re aut de perficiendi facultate dubitemus? Ego autem quidquid est in me studii, consilii, laboris, ingenii, quidquid hoc beneficio populi Romani atque hac potestate praetoria, quidquid auctoritate, fide, constantia possum, id omne ad hanc rem conficiendam tibi et populo Romano polliceor ac defero: 70. testorque omnes deos et eos maxime, qui huic loco temploque praesident, qui omnium mentes eorum, qui ad rem publicam adeunt, maxime perspiciunt, me hoc neque rogatu facere cujusquam neque quo Cn. Pompeii gratiam mihi per hanc causam conciliari putem neque quo mihi ex cujusquam amplitudine aut præsidia periculis aut adjumenta honoribus quaeram, propterea quod pericula facile, ut hominem praestare oportet, innocentia tecti repellemus, honorem autem neque ab uno neque ex hoc loco, sed eadem illa nostra laboriosissima ratione vitae, si vestra voluntas feret, consequemur. 71. Quam ob rem quidquid in hac causa mihi susceptum est, Qui-

rites, id omne ego me rei publicae causa suscepisse confirmo, tantumque abest, ut aliquam mihi bonam gratiam quaesisse videar, ut multas me etiam simultates partim obscuras, partim apertas intelligam mihi non necessarias, vobis non inutiles suscepisse. Sed ego me hoc honore praeditum, tantis vestris beneficiis affectum statui, Quirites, vestram voluntatem et rei publicae dignitatem et salutem provinciarum atque sociorum meis omnibus commodis et rationibus praeferre oportere.

NOTES

ON THE ORATION

PRO LEGE MANILIA

COMPRISING

CRITICAL NOTES ON THE TEXT, AND

EXPLANATORY NOTES ON THE COLLATERAL QUESTIONS OF

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, AND ANTIQUITY

WHICH THE TEXT SUGGESTS

NOTES.

§ 1.—*Frequens conspectus vester:* 'your thronging faces.' *Frequens,* 'numerous,' 'crowded.' *Conspectus* means the coup-d'œil of the vast sea, or field, of faces, which Cicero saw from his commanding position.

Hic locus is of course the Rostra.

Autem: 'Yes and.' *Autem* is originally a word of transition rather than opposition: 'moreover,' not 'but.' It is a stronger coupling word than *et,* and is used when the clauses hang together a little unevenly. It is appropriate here, where the clause is rising to a climax. In English we produce the effect by a periphrasis, 'and I will add.' *Autem* is an enclitic, and never stands first in its clause. Cnf. In Verr. Act ii. lib. i. c. 6.

Ad agendum amplissimus: 'the most august for debate.' *Agere cum populo* is to advocate a measure before the people in some official capacity; Cicero as prætor spoke with authority. *Amplus* has the secondary force of 'splendid' or 'illustrious.' Cicero compares the Rostra with the Curia and the Forum.

Quirites. Cicero uses the proper word for addressing the Roman people in their civil capacity of 'burgesses,' or members of the Curiæ. *Quirites* is connected with *Curia.* The popular etymology was from Curis, a Sabine word for a spear. *Sive quod hasta curis priscis est dicta Sabinis.* Ovid, *Fasti,* II. 475.

Vitæ rationes: 'my scheme or plan of life.'

Prohibuerunt, i.e. my principles kept me silent, though as Quæstor and Ædile I might have addressed you from the Rostra before.

Per ætatem. Per is often used to signify opposition or concession: *per me licet,* 'it is permissible for me,' i.e. for all I shall do = 'I offer no opposition:' *per me non licet,* 'it is not permissible for me,' i.e. 'I do offer opposition.'

Hujus auctoritatem loci: 'the majesty of this place = this majestic place.' 'Formerly my age deterred me from adventuring on this awful place.'

Perfectum, 'thought out:' *elaboratum,* 'polished.'

Temporibus, the 'calls,' or 'demands,' of his friends upon his time.

§ 2.—*Neque hic* answers to *et meus,* lower down. 'While this place, &c. my labour.' Cicero means that his abstinence from the Ros-

tra while he was completing his qualifications to speak there had been a good thing for the Romans and for himself, for he had left room for better men in the Rostra, and had made valuable connections for himself.

Caste integre. These words, coupled with *vestro judicio*. are meant to imply that Cicero had not fallen in with the objectionable practice of taking money from his clients. So long ago as 204 B.C. the Lex Cincia had been passed to stop this practice.

Amplissimum: 'most noble,' as *amplissimus* in § 1.

Propter dilationem comitiorum: 'through an interruption to the election.' We know nothing of the two occasions on which these comitia were interrupted. A very slight pretext, however, served to interrupt them, when it afforded an opportunity for a party manœuvre. Cicero says that on all three occasions enough votes had been given him to place him at the head of the poll.

Honoribus mandandis: 'by committing official posts to me.' *Honores* does not mean 'compliments:' it has the technical meaning of 'the highest offices in the State.'

Qui ei quoque—duxerunt. 'Who have thought that to that power also a return should be awarded by their estimate.' *Ei rei* refers to the readiness and skill acquired at the bar.

§ 3.—*Atque illud:* 'and besides.' *Illud* is constantly used to introduce an additional idea. In the last section Cicero has said that he will speak if it is only to show his gratitude to the Romans. Besides, he adds here, 'I could not have a better opportunity.'

Ratione dicendi. The 'practice' in the sense in which we speak of the 'practice of the court:' 'procedure.' 'While the practice of speakers from this place is unfamiliar to me.'

Oratio: 'language:' 'the material for a speech.'

§ 4.—*Causa.* This is one of those words which young readers should always beware of translating by a Latinized English word such as 'cause.' It means here the 'state or condition of affairs.' 'Whence all this state of the case starts.'

Vectigalibus is probably the dative of *vectigalia*, not *vectigales*. The revenue and the people from whom the revenue is drawn are coupled similarly in § 45, *socios et vectigalia*.

Alter relictus—alter lacessitus. 'The former let slip, the latter challenged.' Cicero uses his language cleverly to create a prejudice against Lucullus at the very outset. By *relictus* he insinuates that L. was answerable for the escape of Mithridates after his complete defeat before Cabeira (B.C. 72). The King in fact only escaped through the cupidity of his pursuers, who stopped to plunder a mule laden with gold. But as Lucullus could hardly help this, Cicero probably insinuates that if L. had not stayed to make himself master of Cabeira, he might have overtaken M. before he reached Armenia. By '*lacessitus*' Cicero recalls the insolent conduct of Appius Claudius to Tigranes, when he went from Lucullus to demand the surrender of Mithridates. In § 23 Cicero says it had never been the policy of Rome to make an enemy of Armenia.

Asiam here means the pro-consular province of Asia, which had come into the possession of the Romans under the will of Attalus (B.C. 133). It comprised Mysia, Æolis, Lydia, Ionia, and some of the Dorian cities. It was the richest part of Asia Minor.

Equitibus Romanis. In this speech the *Equites* are practically identical with the *Publicani*, and the word has no technical meaning beyond that of a person with a fortune sufficient to qualify him to belong to the judices under the Lex Sempronia (B.C. 123). It is true that this law was not now in force, but the Lex Aurelia (B.C. 70), which chose the judices from the senators, equites, and tribuni ærarii. But as the Publicani, though not necessarily yet practically, had to show that they were solid and substantial men, they still maintained the influence of the order, and retained the old name with the implication of property qualification which it once had.

Litteræ may mean 'letters' here, but it is quite as forcible to understand it of 'a letter a day.'

Magnæ res: 'immense fortunes.' *Res* refers to the many separate fortunes which were embarked in the great companies into which the Publicani formed themselves.

Aguntur: 'are at stake.' *Agere rem*, in this sense, means to take a thing in hand and sift it to the bottom, to try and test.

In vestris—occupatæ: 'sunk in developing your revenues.'

§ 5.—Cicero introduces here the indirect narration, because he is telling them the substance of the letters from Asia.

Bithyniæ. This kingdom was bequeathed to the Romans by the will of the last King, Nicomedes III. (B.C. 74). Mithridates naturally considered the Roman possession of Bithynia as a standing menace to himself.

Huic qui successerit. Eum is understood: *successerit* is in the subjunctive because it is in indirect narration. Glabrio is the incompetent successor.

§ 6.—*Genus est ejusmodi.* Cicero describes the war as a defensive war, which the Romans could not with honour avoid.

Ad persequendi studium = ad bellum studiose persequendum.

Pacis ornamenta. 'The lustre of peace.' He refers to the large sums spent on public worship and sacrifices.

Subsidia belli, 'the funds of war.' The soldiers' pay was made out of the provinces.

Quibus consulendum, 'for whose interests you must provide.'

A vobis. As a rule, after the participle in *-dus*, we have a dative of the agent. Here, however, it might cause some confusion after the dative of the person *quibus*, and we have the ablative with *a*.

§ 7.—*Uno die tota Asia.* The reference is to the atrocious mandate which M. issued from his luxurious winter quarters at Pergamus B.C. 88. It directed all the cities in Asia to put to death on the same day all the Roman and Italian citizens within their walls. His orders were obeyed with such ferocity that

from 80,000 to 150,000 persons are said to have been massacred.

Pœnam suscepit. This use of *suscipio* for 'suffered' is rare, and must not be imitated.

Vestris vectigalibus, 'in the lands from which your revenue comes.'

In Asiæ luce, 'in the meridian of Asia.' *Luce* is used to contrast the publicity of the rich and fertile seaboard of Asia Minor with the more sparsely-peopled regions of Pontus.

§ 8.—*Triumphavit L. Sulla.* Sulla celebrated his triumph, well earned in the first Mithridatic war, in the beginning of 81 B.C. Two days were devoted to the spectacle, which comprised vast treasures and hordes of captives—in fact every symbol of triumph except Mithridates himself.

Triumphavit L. Murena. Lucius Licinius Murena had been left by Sulla as his lieutenant in Asia, with strict orders not to provoke Mithridates. These orders he disobeyed, and was decisively defeated by M. on the Halys B.C. 82. He was recalled to Rome, but Sulla, with that cynical contempt for principle which marked his licentious old age, granted him a triumph (B.C. 81). His exploits constitute the Second Mithridatic War.

Ita triumpharunt ut, 'they triumphed so, *i.e.* in such a limited sense, that, routed and vanquished as he was, he remained a king.'

Quod egerunt. Quod is the relative acc. after *egerunt*, 'for their energy.'

§ 9.—*Bosporanis.* The inhabitants of the Cimmerian Bosporus in the Crimea. Mithridates had made his son Machares viceroy of the Crimea.

Usque in Hispaniam. It was about 76 B.C. that M. sent to Sertorius to propose joint action. Sertorius sent M. Roman officers to train his troops, while the king sent Sertorius men and ships. We cannot wonder that M. made these preparations, as the Roman Senate, by refusing to ratify the treaty made by Sulla with M., showed clearly their intention of crushing him.

Binis. Bini is not here used for *duo*, but has its full force of two each. There were two enemies, and each enemy had a land force and a sea force.

Ancipiti—dimicaretis, 'till challenged on two flanks you were virtually defending your sovereignty.' *Anceps* means anything which may be looked at in two ways, 'puzzling'; thus '*ancipiti obsequio*' (Pers. v. 156) means the divided service of one man to two masters, between whom he is always running backwards and forwards. The meaning 'doubtful,' 'dangerous,' is only secondary, and young students should beware of mistaking it for the primary meaning.

§ 10.—*Firmamenti ac roboris*, 'stiffness and toughness.' Cicero is quite right in discriminating between the disciplined force of

Marians and Spanish mountaineers whom Sertorius led, and the untrained and undrilled Asiatic levies that Mithridates had to command. Sertorius twice defeated Pompey himself. Mithridates knew that his only chance of coping with the Romans was to train and drill his own troops, but they could never be brought under discipline.

§ 11.—*Mercatoribus injuriosius tractatis.* The piratical wars would come under this category; for instance, the war with the Illyrian pirates under their masculine Queen Teuta (B.C. 230). But, no doubt, many aggressive wars, which Rome made for conquest, would be put down to some flimsy affront offered to Roman traders.

Appellati superbius. According to another account, Diæus actually threw the commissioners sent by Metellus into prison. Cicero perhaps chooses the milder version, according to which Orestes and his colleagues were only 'insultingly addressed,' to heighten the enormity of Mithridates' conduct. The celebrated sack of Corinth by Mummius took place B.C. 146.

Legatum populi Romani consularem. Cicero here alludes to events which took place at the first outbreak of the Mithridatic war. Mithridates had defeated M. Aquilius, who fled to Pergamum. There he fell into the hands of the king, who put him to a cruel death.

Jus—persecuti sunt. 'They upheld the principle of audience when merely prejudiced by language.' *Jus* is a difficult word to translate, because it includes both the general rights and particular rules of a subject.

Relinquetis, 'abandon,' 'leave unrevenged.'

§ 12.—*Ariobarzanes* was the nominee of the Romans for the crown of Cappadocia, to which he was elected B.C. 93. He was a warm partizan of Rome; so much so, that he was surnamed φιλορώμαιος. Mithridates expelled him from the throne several times: once in B.C. 92, again in B.C. 90, and a third time in B.C. 66, after the delivery of this oration.

Cuncta Asia. The word *cunctus* is from *conjunctus*, so that it means 'all' collectively, as in Div. 1, 'qui nunc *cuncti* ad me venerunt': *omnis*, on the other hand, means 'all' distributively, 'each and every': *totus* applies to what is whole and homogeneous. It is better therefore to take *cuncta Asia atque Græcia* as in the nominative, in apposition with *omnes civitates*, than as in the ablative.

Imperatorem certum, 'a determinate commander.' *Certus* here clearly shows its nature as the participle of *cerno*, to 'pick.'

Cuum præsertim. 'Præsertim' is often used to emphasize relatives and relative adverbs, *qui, quum*, &c. It generally follows the word which it emphasizes.

§ 13.—*Summa sint omnia*, 'in whose character everything is consummate.'

Propter. Pompey was in Cilicia, settling its affairs after his brilliant victories over the pirates. *Propter* is used as an adverb, 'near.'

Libere loqui. Cicero means to insinuate that the provincials were cowed by Lucullus or Glabrio.

Ceteros ejusmodi mittimus. Lit. 'we send the others out such,' *i.e.*, the others whom we send out are such. *Ejusmodi* belongs to the predicate, as if the bad character of these men were due to the Romans who sent them out.

Hostili expugnatione. Cicero, in § 65, repeats the mention of the terror inspired in the wretched provincials by their rapacious defenders. But it was most unfair to implicate Lucullus in these exactions, as it was his unusual clemency and humanity which created his unpopularity with his troops. Lucullus had fixed one per cent. for the limit of taxation, and annulled all arrears of interest, thereby making the capitalists his bitter enemies. Indeed, Manilius was their mouthpiece on this very occasion.

Commoratur. The use of the indicative instead of the subjunctive shows that the *videantur* expresses Cicero's opinion, not that of the provincials.

§ 14.—*Antiocho.* Antiochus III. of Syria. This war began 192 B.C. The Ætolians were allies of Antiochus. The war arose out of interference by the Ætolians with the Achæans and other members of the Roman alliance.

Philippo. Philippus V. of Macedonia. The date of this war is 200 B.C. The Romans had an old grudge against him, but they made a grievance of the Athenians their actual *casus belli.*

Pœni. The First Punic War was the necessary result of the rivalry with Rome for the possession of Sicily. They came into collision about Messana, The second Punic war began by Hannibal attacking Saguntum. The Third Punic War was fought on behalf of Massinissa, an ally of Rome.

Tanta sunt. 'Are just so great that we can hardly recoup ourselves for garrisoning them,' = 'are so small that,' &c. *Tantus* in itself means neither so great nor so small, but of a particular size.

Ubertate agrorum, &c. Cicero here indicates three of the most important sources of revenue that the Romans had. The 'richness of the cultivated lands' supplied the 'decumæ,' or tithes of wheat, barley, pulse, oil, wine, &c., which were farmed by the 'decumani'; the extent of pasturage supplied the 'scriptura' or 'quit-rent,' which the stock-farmers, 'pecuarii,' paid. The large export trade supplied the 'portorium,' or duty on exports, which passed through the hands of the 'portitores,' or custom-house officers. We have the same three sources of revenue alluded to in § 15, *ex portu, ex decumis, ex scriptura.*

Scriptura. The *scriptura* was the rent paid by those who pastured cattle on the state lands. The name evidently implies a custom of registering the number of head so pastured, and recalls our own term of 'copyhold,' the essence of which was, that tenants held their lands on certain terms entered

on the roll of the manor. The *scriptura* was one of the oldest taxes in Rome.

Earum rerum quæ exportentur. 'Of things which can be exported,' whether there is a demand for them at a particular time or not. The other reading, *exportantur*, means 'the actual exports.'

§ 15.—*Venit.* Is this the perf. *vēnit* or the pres. *vĕnit?* I incline to think it is the present: (1) because we should rather have expected *vēnerit* than *vēnit*; (2) because the emphatic words which are contrasted are *calamitas* and *metus*, and to introduce another antithesis in the tenses would be to weaken the force of the principal antithesis.

Pecua. The reading of all the MSS. is *pecora*, but Servius expressly says, in his Commentary on the *Georgics*, that *pecua* is the reading here.

§ 16.—*Exercent.* Those who develop, *exploiter*, as the French say, the revenue, are the *Equites* at Rome.

Exigunt. Those engaged in the actual collection of the revenue are the servants of the Equites. These are the publicans of the New Testament.

Saltibus. The reading of the MSS. is *salinis*, the salt-mines. But as Cicero has not mentioned them in the present connection, a reading has been adopted to correspond to the *scriptura*. The *saltus* are the 'downs' on which the sheep fed.

Publicani. If there is one word which might possibly indicate the whole field which the operations of the *publicani* covered, it is 'foreign finance,' so that they might be called 'financiers.' They took off the hands of the state the task of collecting the whole revenue of conquered countries, buying the right of representing the state at a price fixed by auction, and of course running the risk of a profit or loss. Cicero here indicates the three principal sources of revenue, because the revenue from the salt-mines and mineral mines was probably inconsiderable in this particular case. The chief points to notice about the *publicani* are (1), that they bought the contracts for five years as a rule; (2) that as a rule they bought them by firms, and not individually; (3) that owing to their great wealth they occupied almost the position of a national guarantee fund.

§ 17.—*Et publicani.* The *et* is answered by *deinde* in § 18.

Honestissimi et ornatissimi. 'Most respectable and substantial men.' *Ornatus* here has its primary sense of 'well provided.' Cnf. *ornatus fundus*, 'a well-stocked farm.'

Rationes et copias. 'Interests and capital.' Probably the provincials would hardly have endorsed C.'s glowing panegyric on these enterprising gentry. What C. calls enterprise, they would have called extortion. The equally spirited conduct of English traders in braving the Chinese imperial edicts and revenue laws to supply the popular demand for opium—what *we* call smuggling—involved us in a serious war in 1840.

§ 18.—*Partim eorum* = *alii eorum.*

Sejunctam. 'Isolated.'

Illud parvi refert. 'It is but small satisfaction,' to the *Publicani*, that is. *Amissis* = *perditis*, 'ruined.' He says that it will not be much satisfaction to the Publicani when they are ruined, that *you* should recover your revenues by victory.

Redimendi. '*Redimere*' is the proper technical term for buying any office or duty according to an accepted tender. A '*decumanus*' was said '*redimere*' the *decumæ*.

§ 19. *Hæc fides.* '*Hæc*' has here the true demonstrative force; 'credit here, the financial system here.' Cnf. the use of ὅδε in the Tragedians.

Quæ in foro versatur. The bankers had their stalls, *argentariæ tabernæ*, in the Forum.

Ruere—concidant. 'Failures there mean panic and ruin by the self-same shock here.'

§ 20.—*Enim.* Young students have generally a settled conviction that '*enim*' is always a word of inference, and means 'for.' But very often, as here, it is merely a word of reference of the loosest possible kind to some antecedent. 'I will speak of the compass of the war. And perhaps we may say this.' In Greek γὰρ is similarly used: cnf. Ζεὺς γὰρ κατακτὰς παῖδα τὸν ἐμον αἴτιος. Sometimes *enim* must be translated 'why.' Cnf. *Juv.* i. 89. Learners must bear in mind that common equivalents are not co-extensive with foreign ideas.

Cyzicus was a city on the Mysian Propontis, of which we hear little under the Greek period. It had, however, grown sufficiently rich in obscurity to tempt the cupidity of Mithridates, who attacked it in 74 B.C. It was strongly fortified, and held out till Lucullus cut off the supplies of M., who had to retire with great loss. In reward for its fidelity it was made a Libera Civitas. It continued a place of importance under the Empire.

Mithridati, used for the genitive of *Mithridates*.

§ 21.—*Amisus*, a city in Pontus, the most important Greek colony on the North Euxine after Sinope. Mithridates made it a royal residence alternately with Sinope, and added a faubourg to it, called after himself Eupatoria. It offered a most stubborn resistance to Lucullus B.C. 71.

Sinope, a city in Paphlagonia, of very ancient origin, fabulously connected with the Argonauts. During the Peloponnesian War it played an important part. It was attached to the Pontian crown by Pharnaces B.C. 183, and soon rose to supreme importance on the North Euxine, and was made a royal residence. After his defeat at Cyzicus, Mithridates entrusted the defence of the garrison to Bacchides, a violent officer, who exasperated his own troops. Still the garrison made a most gallant resistance to Lucullus. On the fall of

the town the Sinopians obtained very favourable terms, while the Pontians were put to the sword. The Romans restored to Sinope its independence. Sinope was famous as the birth-place of Diogenes.

Ducibus Sertorianis. One of these was M. Varius or Marius, a Roman Senator in exile, sent by Sertorius to Mithridates to take a command under him, B.C. 75. Varius was placed in command of M.'s fleet B.C. 73, and was utterly defeated by Lucullus off Lemnos, and himself taken prisoner. *Studio*, 'party passion'; *raperetur*, 'was tearing along.'

Salvis populi Romani sociis, 'without taxing the subjects of the Roman people, and without impoverishing the treasury.' Lucullus paid the whole cost of the Armenian war out of the booty.

Satis opinor—laudatum. 'I think, burgesses, that this is handsome praise; nay, to tell you my opinion, that Lucius Lucullus has been praised from this place equally by none of my friends who oppose this bill and this movement.' This is merely a piece of good-humoured banter at the expense of Hortensius and Catulus. Cicero says in effect, 'I run down Lucullus? Why. I make him out better than his own supporters.' It is a trick as familiar to modern as to ancient lawyers. '*Iste*' is a technical word for an adversary, as *οὗτος* generally is in Greek orations.

§ 22.—*Requiretur, &c.* Having praised Lucullus up to the skies, Cicero goes on to show that on the *present* occasion his merits ought not to count.

Dispersa, 'straggling.' There is no question of hypallage here, or question of *dispersa* being added as an afterthought. If Medea had cut up the body and left the fragments in one place, there would have been simply a '*collectio*'; but she dropped them at intervals, so that there was a series of '*collectiones*.'

Illum, *i.e.* Æetes, the father of Medea. *Hos*, the soldiers of Lucullus.

§ 23.—*Excepit.* Tigranes did not immediately espouse the quarrel of his father-in-law.

Cujus in regnum. Lucullus marched upon Tigranocerta, the capital of the Armenian king, in 69 B.C.

Plures etiam gentes, 'more nations still.' Never translate *plures* 'several.' These would be some of the dependent states on the Caspian and the Persian Gulf.

Gravis atque vehemens opinio, 'a deep and fanatical conviction.' It is quite impossible to say what temple Cicero alludes to.

Tigrani, used for the genitive of *Tigranes*.

§ 25.—*Regnum suum*, *i.e.* Pontus.

Sicut poetæ. The poets alluded to are supposed to be Nævius, who wrote a history of the First Punic War in Saturnian metre; and Ennius, who wrote a history of Rome down to his own time in hexameters.

Calamitatem. The speaker alludes to the disastrous defeat

sustained by Triarius near Zela in 67 B.C. The Romans lost their camp and 7,000 men. '*Calamitas*' is a euphemistic word for a defeat; cnf. the Greek use of ἀτυχία: τῆς ἀτυχίας τῆς ἐν Χαιρωνείᾳ. Æsch. in Ctes. 55.

Non ex prælio nuntius. The meaning seems to be that not a man escaped to tell the tale. This is, however, an exaggeration: Triarius escaped, and was secreted by Lucullus from the fury of the soldiery.

§ 26.—*Hic in ipso-- offensione:* 'Hereon, immediately upon that disaster, and a most damaging miscarriage of our arms.' 'Ipso' here has the force of disconnecting the 'malo' with every subsequent circumstance; the force is 'the defeat just as it stood, before anything could alter it.' Cnf. 'in tempore ipso,' 'in the very nick of time;' αὐτὸς has a similar force in Greek.

Tamen: 'after all.' The introduction of 'tamen' gives a parenthetical force to the clause, as if it were rather a passing thought in Cicero's own mind than an observation addressed to his hearers. Cnf. Virg. Ec. ix. 62, 'tamen veniemus in urbem.'

Imperii diuturnitati. Lucullus had had the conduct of the war against Mithridates conferred upon him as an extraordinary command B.C. 74. It was in consequence of a report made to the Senate by the delegates sent out to settle the affairs of Pontus that a decree was passed conferring the command on Glabrio.

Stipendiis confectis: 'Their periods of service having been completed.' There was some fairness in this demand of the soldiers for their discharge, as some of the troops from Fimbria had seen more than twenty years' foreign service.

§ 27.—*Utinam—haberetis.* 'Would that you had owned such wealth of dauntless and stainless soldiers!' Pompey was like Bayard, *sans peur et sans reproche.* Notice that the imperfect '*haberetis*' is used, because the wish is impossible. In Greek the impf. and aor. indicative with words of wishing have this force, as εἴθ' ὤφελ' Ἀργοῦς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος, Med. I. '*Utinam habeatis*' would mean 'I hope you may own.' '*Putaretis*' is also imperfect because it all forms part of circumstances which can never be realised. '*Quæ res—possit?*' 'What circumstance is there which can unsettle the conviction of any man in this case?'

§ 28.—*Quattuor has res:* 'These four qualities. *Auctoritas* is another of those words which young students must beware of translating by English derivatives. It does not mean authority at all, but the reputation or opinion which men entertained of Pompey; '*prestige.*' The careful enumeration of the points of an analysis was always studied in ancient oratory. So Æschines, in his speech against Ctesiphon, enumerates the qualities which ought to distinguish a popular leader, but which he says do not distinguish Demosthenes. In Ctes. § 168.

Esse debuit: 'Should be expected to be.' The translation 'had a right to be' shows (1) a confusion of the two meanings of the

English 'ought;' (2) ignorance that in that case we should have *profectus sit*, not *profectus est*. The obligation was due from Pompey to the State, not from his experience to Pompey. The claims of the State on the individual were paramount in Greece and Rome, and military service was every man's bounden duty. Hence *debuit* has its primitive force of owing as a debt.

Acerrimis hostibus. The Marian party.

E ludo. Pompey was extremely young when he went to Picenum to levy troops for Sulla. His father, Cn. Pompeius Strabo, had long held the command in Picenum—a circumstance which was much in young Pompey's favour. He was but twenty-three when Sulla landed in Italy.

Extremâ pueritiâ means of course 'at the close of his boyhood,' just as *summus mons* means the top of the mountain.

Imperator. Pompey had resisted the attacks of three Marian detachments near Picenum, and, though threatened by Scipio, was able to bring to Sulla a large reinforcement. Sulla received him with great honour, and greeted him *Imperator.*

Hostis: 'a foreign enemy,' as opposed to *inimicus*, 'a private enemy,' or even 'a professional opponent.'

Civile: the campaign against Cinna and Carbo in Sicily. Pompey put Carbo to death and sent his head to Rome. *Africanum*, the war against Hiarbas. After the death of Carbo, Pompey had reduced all Sicily and Africa to submission. When Pompey was despatched against Sertorius, he fell in with the remnant of Lepidus' army under L. Junius Brutus, on his march from the Alps to the Pyrenees (Transalpinum): he easily defeated Brutus, and put him to death in cold blood. Hispaniense of course refers to his war against Sertorius, which was certainly one of his least successful campaigns, as he was twice defeated, and only rescued by Metellus. Pompey concluded this war by defeating Perperna, the murderer of Sertorius. Cicero calls the Sertorian war *mixtum* because it comprised Romans, and Spaniards, and Lusitanians, besides contingents sent by Mithridates. Servile means the gladiatorial war against Spartacus, in which Pompey hanged or crucified more than 6,000 prisoners. *Navale bellum* is the war against the Cilician pirates, by far the most brilliant of all Pompey's exploits, and not disgraced by the same cruelty as his other victories.

Nullam rem—possit: 'assure us that there is no point occurring in military practice which can place the generalship of this soldier at fault.' *Usus* means practical experience, with some implication of 'need.' Cnf. *Sunt alii quos ipse via sibi repperit usus*, Virg. Geor. II. 22.

29.—*Par oratio.* 'What language can be found adequate to Pompey's heroic character?' *Virtus* here includes not merely bravery and other warlike qualities, but all the attributes which go to make up a hero.

Neque enim illæ solæ virtutes. Cicero, however, leaves the

discussion of the other virtues which a commander should have to § 36, where he praises his refinement, integrity, clemency, &c.

Labor means capacity for taking intense trouble, or of concentrating the energies all to one point. *Industria*, on the other hand, means the active capacity for trying many courses, *i.e.*, of taking extensive trouble, leaving no stone unturned, as we say. The leading idea of '*fortis*' is 'endurance.' Translate 'application in routine, self-possession in danger, activity in operation, decision in execution, resource in calculation.'

§ 30.—*Testis est Italia.* This was a bold allusion, as Pompey had fought under Sulla against the popular party.

Confessus est. When Pompey, at twenty-five years of age, demanded a triumph for his successes in Africa and Sicily, Sulla at first refused, and tried to put him off with the title of Magnus. But Pompey insisted, and Sulla granted his demand in the contemptuous words 'Well, then, let him triumph.'

Cinctam—explicavit. 'Which he extricated from the toils of peril, not by menacing war, but by the readiness of his wit.'

§ 31.—*Quum—tum*: 'both—and.' '*Exteræ gentes.*' Foreign nations generally, excluding the *socii*, the nations with which Rome had merely diplomatic relations.

Maria omnia—portus: 'Nay, all waters, alike in oceans, and the several bays and harbours in each sea.'

Aut hieme—navigaret? 'When he must either be sailing in a storm, or on a sea choked with pirates?' The only way of avoiding the pirates was to choose such foul weather that they were afraid to put to sea. *Referto*, passive participle of *refercio.*

§ 32.—*Cui præsidio fuistis*: *cui*, the dative of the person 'to whom;' *præsidio*, the dative of the thing 'for which:' 'to whom were you for a protection?'

Longinqua. 'But why do I detail these terrors far away?' It was bad enough that the Romans should be powerless in Asia Minor, but the Cilician pirates are even the terror of the ports of Rome.

Fuit, fuit. Cicero repeats '*fuit*' to emphasise the fact that what was once is so no more. Cnf. *nos fuimus Troes.*

Proprium populi Romani: 'The privilege of the Roman people.' *Proprius* in the sense of 'peculiar to' generally takes a genitive after it, but sometimes a dative.

Transmiserint: 'have crossed.' *Transmittere* is here used in a neuter sense.

Redempti sint: 'have been ransomed.' 'The audacity of these pirates was extreme. At one time young Cæsar was in their hands; and P. Clodius, who had left the army of Lucullus after his success in fomenting mutiny, was even now their prisoner. Not long before this they had carried off two Prætors from the coast of Italy. The granddaughter of the great orator M. Antonius had been seized by them at

Misenum. The very port of Ostia had been plundered by their galleys.' Liddell's Rome, II. p. 375.

Duodecim secures. As each prætor outside the city was accompanied by six lictors, this expression=' two prætors.' Plutarch corroborates this statement that two prætors had been carried away. A magistrate inside the city had two lictors and only two fasces.

§ 33.—*Cnidus*: *Colophon*: *Samos.* These were three of the most famous commercial cities in the Ægean in ancient times, and had all greatly declined in prosperity, owing to the audacious incursions of the pirates. *Samos* in special had suffered greatly at their hands. *Cnidus* was the port of Caria. *Colophon* was about two miles from the seaboard of Ionia. and was a place of great resort through the famous Oracle of Apollo Clarius. It also claimed to be the birthplace of Homer. *Samos* rose to a pitch of unexampled prosperity under the tyrant Polycrates, B.C. 552.

Eos portus=Caieta, Misenum, Ostia.

Caieta was the principal port of Latium, and one of the very few good natural harbours on that coast. *Celeberrimum portum,* a thickly-crowded harbour: *celeber* is only another form of *creber.* The notion of 'celebrated' is that which is always turning up.

Misenum, said to be named after Misenus, the trumpeter of Æneas. At this time its natural capabilities as a harbour were not utilised fully, but Augustus made it the chief station of the Roman fleet.

Prope. Ostia was sixteen miles from Rome.

Præpositus esset. The subjunctive is used because the clause does not merely add an attribute to *classi,* but indicates the intention with which the consul had been appointed. 'That fleet to which a consul of the Roman people had been expressly appointed.'

Oceani ostium. The mighty river *Oceanus,* which empties itself into the Mediterranean at the Pillars of Hercules (*oceani ostium*), is contrasted with the little river Tiber, which empties itself into the Tyrrhene Sea. Remember that the ancients always considered *Oceanus* as a river; though, of course, Cicero knew that it was the Atlantic. 'This side of the mouth of *Oceanus.*'

§ 34.—*Quis enim—navigavit?* 'For who, either in desperation of overtaking his business or of pursuing profit, ever succeeded in visiting so many places and completing so many trips in so short a time, as the tide of war flowed swiftly when Cn. Pompey led?'

Hæc tria—munivit. 'And strengthened these three grain reserves with most substantial garrisons and squadrons.'

§ 35.—*Ut.* This use of *ut* to signify 'since' is very rare; another instance is *ut male sanos adscripsit Liber Satyris Faunisque-*

poetas. Hor. Ep. I. 19. 4. The fleet was waiting at Brundisium ready to sail at a minute's notice. Pompey took the command there, and swept the pirates before him to the Cilician coast.

Undequinquagesimo die: the Romans, it must be remembered, included both the day of departure and the day of arrival. So when they say 'on the 49th day after setting out from Brundisium,' we say '48 days after setting out.'

Idem Cretensibus. This was a most unhandsome attempt to deprive Metellus of the fruits of his conquest of Crete. The Cretans tried to enlist Pompey as their advocate, and he tried to claim Crete as included in his command. But the Senate supported Metellus, who obtained a triumph and the title of Creticus. '*Cretensibus*' depends in the dative on both '*ademit*' and '*imperavit.*' *C. non spem ademit*, 'he did not withhold a hope of terms from the Cretans.' *C. obsides imperavit*, 'he made a requisition for hostages on the C.'

§ 36.—*Paullo ante: scilicet* in § 29, where, however, he rather implies these more general virtues than actually begins to enumerate them.

Multæ sunt—virtutis. 'But there are many splendid accomplishments which wait upon and attend this virtue.' The objection to translating *artes* 'qualities' is that we lose sight of the notion of something acquired by one own's exertions. It grates on us to call integrity or humanity an accomplishment, because we regard virtues as innate. But this was not the view of Aristotle, for instance, who held virtue to be a matter of education.

Innocentia means the virtue of coming with clean hands out of every position of trust or power; perhaps 'scrupulousness.' As a comment on this quality, Pompey's enemies might have suggested that he was strongly suspected of embezzling moneys paid to his father for the war-chest.

Temperantia, 'self-coutrol.' This was undoubtedly the key to Pompey's character—an iron mastery of every feeling which might obstruct his interest. He had brought every emotion into perfect subjection to his interests. For instance, he married his first wife to secure a first-rate lawyer for a father-in-law; and he coolly divorced her when Sulla gave orders that all persons connected with the Marians by marriage should divorce their wives.

Facilitate, 'genial presence.' *Humanitate.* Cicero must indeed have held his audience in contempt when he ventured to praise Pompey's humanity. The murderer of his friend and protector Carbo, and the ruthless executioner of the gladiators, certainly treated the Cilician pirates with politic clemency, and displayed a cheap humanity to the Cretans at the expense of Metellus. But in the matter of human life and limb, as in every other, Pompey's well-regulated mind was strictly subordinated to policy.

Ex aliorum contentione, 'by contrast with others. *Contentio* was the technical term in rhetoric for contrast.

§ 37.—*Ullo in numero.* Cicero means 'what commander can we think deserving even of the name of a commander at all?' *Aliquo in numero* would have meant 'worthy of any position among commanders.'

Cujus in exercitu veneant, &c., 'in whose army serjeanteies are being sold, and have been sold' for many a day. *Veneant*, from *veneo* 'to be sold.' It is uncertain to whom Cicero alludes, unless it be to Glabrio.

Hunc hominem cogitare: this case of the accusative with the infinitive depends on *possumus putare* in the preceding clause.

Provinciæ depends in the genitive on *cupiditatem*: 'their adherence to their province.' Cicero says that these men employed their allowance from the treasury to bribe the magistrates, *i.e.* consuls, tribunes, and so on, to continue them in their office; *in questu*, 'for investment,' *i.e.* with his bankers.

Ferant = *afferant.*

§ 38.—*Utrum plures—deletas?* 'Whether do you think that for the few past years the enemies' cities destroyed by your soldiers' arms, or the settlements of your subjects disorganised by their winter quarters, are the more numerous?' Cicero seems to contrast the mere walls that the enemy had lost with the whole social life which the subjects had had disturbed.

Qui se ipsum non continet, 'who does not restrain himself.' A manifest hit at Lucullus, whose self-indulgent life on service excited the natural discontent of his men. *Severus*, 'rigid.'

§ 39.—*Non modo manus.* The ordinary explanation of *non modo* in this construction is to say that another *non* is omitted. And it is true that by this expedient we get an equivalent in sense to the Latin. *Modo* is a word of limitation, and its force here is to isolate the clause in which it stands, so that it becomes parenthetical. 'So that in that vast army, quite apart from a hand, not even a foot is said to have done violence;' or 'I do not say a hand.'

Non modo—permittitur. 'Not only is pressure put upon no one that he should incur outlay on the soldiery, but not even is it allowed to any one who wishes.' *Militem* here used not of an individual soldier, but by metonymy of the army.

Hiemis is the objective genitive after *perfugium*, 'a refuge against the winter.' *Avaritiæ* is the ordinary subjective genitive, 'a refuge for cupidity.'

§ 40.—*Enim* here, as several times before in this oration, does not mean 'for;' 'indeed,' or 'for certain,' renders it much more nearly. *Vis remigum*: it might seem natural to take *vis* here in the sense which it bears in *odora canum vis*, Virg. Æn. i. 132 of a 'body'; perhaps, however, it is best to understand it of the bodily strength of the rowers. 'It was, for certain, no special vigour of his crew, no unheard-of skill at the helm, no new winds, which wafted him so swiftly to the ends of the earth; it was rather this, that those things which can usually entice others did not delay him.'

Non avaritia, &c. This is all true, but the motive which actuated Pompey was here, as always, the main chance.

Non nobilitas urbis ad cognitionem. 'The lustre of no city seduced him to explore it.'

§ 41.—*Quod jam—videbatur*: 'Which was fast passing into a scoff with foreign nations, and a baseless charge to memory.' *Jam*, 'every minute,' as in Virg. Æn. vi. 358: *paulatim adnabam terræ, jam tuta tenebam.*

Jam vero—videatur: 'Now at last so unreserved are the audiences of individuals with him said to be, so unchecked their complaints of the misdeeds of others, that he who by his presence outshines princes in graciousness seems the equal of the lowest.' *Jam*, 'at last,' after all the wretched misgovernment of previous commanders.

§ 42.—*Hoc ipso ex loco*: *i.e.* the Rostra.

§ 43.—*Auctoritas* is more nearly represented by 'force of character' than any one word. It means that quality in a man which makes others look up to and swear by him.

Vehementer—commoveri? 'Who does not know that what your enemies and your subjects think of your commanders tells powerfully on the conduct of your wars, when we know in so many cases that men are influenced to despise, or fear, or hate, or love, not less by sentiment and gossip than by any formal reasoning?'

§ 44.—*Illius diei.* Cicero, of course, refers to the Gabinian Bill, brought forward in 67 B.C. by Aulus Gabinius, a tool of Pompey. The Bill proposed to confer on some one of consular rank the command of the whole Mediterranean—the some one of course being Pompey. The intense excitement alluded to by Cicero was caused by the senseless opposition of the Senate and the tribune Trebellius to the measure.

Ut plura non dicam, 'to leave more unsaid,' throws greater emphasis on the '*plura*' than '*ne plura dicam*,' 'to say no more.'

Ab eodem—sumantur: 'Let instances of all striking events be taken from a single Cn. Pompey.' A sudden fall in corn is a striking event; we can clearly trace it to Pompey again. The universal submission of Asiatics is a striking event—again Pompey is the cause.

Ex summa. Ex is properly used to denote transition from one state of things to another. Tr. 'after.'

§ 45.—*Satis firmum—non haberet*: *Firmum* belongs rather to the predicate than is a mere attribute of *præsidium.* 'When the province was not keeping its defences up.' *Habere firmum*, 'to keep firm.'

Mithridatem continuit: 'checked *Mithridates.*' *Tigranem retardavit*: 'arrested Tigranes'

§ 46.—*Legatum.* The persons who are represented as Pompey's detractors are no doubt Metellus and his friends. We know nothing further of the circumstances than what we gather here. Mithridates sent commissioners to Sertorius on the other side; but he may have given instructions to sound Pompey.

§ 47.—*Reliquum est—dicamus.* 'Concerning success—which no man can ensure for himself, which we can recall and commemorate of another—it remains that we should speak, as it is fair for a man to speak of the dispensation of the gods, guardedly and shortly.' *Præstare*, here used actively.

Mario. It is noticeable that, in order to conciliate his democratic hearers the better, Cicero omits all mention of Sulla.

Profecto, 'beyond a doubt.'

De hujus—videntur. 'But concerning the good genius of this mortal, whom we are now upon, I will use such reserve of speech, as not to say that fortune has been placed at his disposal, but so that we may seem to be grateful for the past, hopeful for the future, lest my language should seem either offensive or thankless to the immortal Gods.' *Hominis* is emphatic, 'a mortal,' as opposed to the immortals of the end of the clause. The whole of this sentence is replete with literary affectation, suggestive of the theory of Æschylus and Herodotus, that a Nemesis is always waiting for undue exaltation.

§ 48.—*Et ejus semper—obsecundarint.* 'That not only have citizens always accorded his pleasure, subjects complied with it, enemies bowed to it, but even the winds and the seasons have favoured it.'

Erat diligendus. 'He was the man to be chosen,' is more forcible than 'He would have been the man to be chosen.' There was so little doubt that P. was the right man to choose, that C. cannot bear to put it even in the form of a supposition.

§ 50. —*Nunc*, 'as it is.'

Quum ad ceteras—adjungatur. 'When, in addition to other supreme conveniences, this recommendation also is added.'

§ 51.—*Q. Catulus* throughout life was a staunch advocate of the aristocratic party, but showed himself so far above mere party considerations, that he obtained the confidence of all parties. In § 59, Cicero mentions the striking proof of confidence which the populace showed him when he was opposing their darling Gabinian Bill.

Q. Hortensius, Cicero's great opponent in the Verrine case. Hortensius showed a cordial spirit towards Cicero, but the jealous spirit of the latter always prompted him to distrust him. He always accused him of under-handed intrigues.

Auctoritatem. 'Authority' is hardly the word to translate *auctoritas*, as authority with us implies some kind of official position; *e.g.* a judge's decisions are called authorities.

Auctoritas here means the importance attaching to the mere expression of opinion; perhaps 'expressed opinion' may do.

Virorum fortissimorum. These are the supporters of Manilius; they are enumerated in § 68—Lentulus, Servilius, Curio. The drift of this sentence is, 'Hortensius and Catulus have deservedly great influence with you, but in this case—though you know that gallant solicitors and leading statesmen have expressed themselves against Hortensius and Catulus—we can lay aside expression of opinion, and search the truth by pure fact and argument.'

§ 52.— *Obsolevit—refutata.* 'My friend's argument is out of date now; it has been quenched more by facts than words.' *Refutata* is derived from an old word, *futis*, 'a water-pot;' *futare* meant originally to pour cold water into a boiling kettle. Cicero says, 'My friends want to make this a matter of principle, but you have already last year decided this principle against them.'

Legem promulgasset, 'had given notice of his Bill.' *Promulgare legem* was to publish a Bill on some conspicuous place—a merely preliminary step, analogous to printing a Bill now.

§ 53.—*Salus et vera causa*, 'the salvation and true interest.'

Quum ex omnibus—prohibebamur. 'When we were being shut out from our commissariat, both imperial and mercantile, from every province.' The corn grown in Italy so far fell short of the requirements of Rome, that she was entirely dependent on the foreign market. The grain was in part sent to the Publicani, who farmed the *decumæ*, and in part of course by private speculators.

Privatam rem—possemus: 'So that we could fulfil no obligation across the sea, either private or imperial.'

§ 54. *Ad nostram memoriam.* Cicero attributes rather a long memory to his hearers, as the decline of the Rhodian naval power dated from about 168 B.C., when the Romans ruined their commerce by the advantage they gave to Delos.

Magna—caruit: 'Missed a great, in fact much the greatest, share, not only of its profits, but of its position and supremacy.' *Careo* means more than 'to be without,' it means 'to be deprived of.' *Egeo* is 'to suffer privation,' *careo* 'to suffer deprivation.'

§ 55. *Ii* is in apposition with *nos*: 'we, being such.'

Salvos præstare, 'to warrant safe,' 'to insure.' The full construction would be *salvos eos fore præsto*: 'I appear to answer that they shall be safe.' Cnf. *meliorem præsto magistro discipulum.* Juv. 14. 212.

Delos. As Delos was the great depôt of the slave trade, it probably owed its immunity from the pirates to its accommodation for their plunder. It was, in fact, a receiving house for stolen goods.

Appia jam via carebamus. The 'gain' and the imperfect tense show that Cicero does not mean to say that they were actually

afraid to walk on the Appian Way, but that things were rapidly coming to that. The Appian Way was the great southern road, which was extended ultimately to Brundisium.

In hunc ipsum locum, i.e. the Rostra, which took its name from the beaks of the captured ships, with which it was adorned.

§ 56. *In salute communi*: 'In the case of the public urgency.'

Vestræ. Though *noster* often stands for *meus, vester* never stands for *tuus.* Here *vestræ* means 'of you and Catulus.' So in Virg. Æn. 7. 452, *vestrum crimen, amor, vestrum* means 'yours, O Cupid and Venus!'

Aliquando, 'at last.'

§ 57. *Gabinio.* Cicero himself later on supplied the best commentary on Gabinius' motives, by saying that if he had not carried his law he must have turned pirate himself.

Expers gloriæ. The glory which Gabinius sought was chiefly pecuniary, as he showed by building a villa out of the profits of his office, so splendid that the villa of Lucullus appeared a mere hut.

Periculo. In the excitement raised on the proposal of the Gabinian Bill, and the violent opposition of the Senate, Gabinius was nearly killed.

§ 58.—*C. Falcidius.* Nothing is known further of this name.

An C. Falcidius—diligentes? 'Really can C. Falcidius, &c.—all of whom I cite by way of compliment—have ventured to be delegates in the year after they had been tribunes of the people, and then be such purists in the case of Gabinius here alone?' *Potuerunt* does not mean 'were they physically and morally able?' but 'had they the face?' These persons are otherwise unknown.

Præcipuo jure esse deberet, 'ought to have the first claim.'

Me relaturum. Cicero as *prætor* would have this power.

Vestrum jus beneficiumque. Some take this to mean that Cicero will stoutly exercise the prerogatives which the people have conferred on him, so that *jus*, &c.=' my office.' Others take it to mean that he will see that the patricians do not virtually defeat the spirit of the Gabinian law.

Intercessionem, refers to the intervention and veto of the tribunes.

§ 59.—*Dicendum esse videatur.* The effect of introducing words of 'seeming' and 'thinking' is to give an air of extreme deference to the better judgment of his hearers: as we might say, 'Finally I must, in my humble judgment, say a word about Q. Catulus.'

Si quid eo factum esset: 'If anything should happen to him.' A euphemism for 'if he should die.' *Eo* is the ablative of instrument, so that the construction of this idiom is, 'If anything should happen by him,' he being merely passive in the hands of events. *Factum esset* is in the pl. pf., as it denotes an event contingent upon an event which is itself contingent: '*si in uno C. P. omnia poneretis.*'

In hoc ipso: 'But on his own showing.' Catulus said the life of man is short and uncertain; therefore it will not do to stake all your interest on one man. Cicero says, I grant life is uncertain, all the more reason to make the most of it.

Per Deos immortales licet. In this idiom *per* means 'so far as concerns.' The origin of the idiom must be sought in the connection of *per* with παρὰ, 'near,' 'in the quarter of.' *Per me licet*, 'there is no opposition in my quarter.'

§ 60.—*At enim.* *At* is the usual word for putting an objection into an opponent's mouth; *enim* here again is merely emphatic, and does not mean 'for.' 'Well, but they say 'don't let us do anything unconstitutional.'

Scipione. This Scipio was P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Minor, was the son of L. Æmilius Paulus, but adopted by the son of the elder Scipio. This Scipio was the hero of the third Punic war, which he terminated by the sacking of Carthage, B.C. 146. On this occasion he shed tears over the city. He took Numantia after a desperate resistance, B.C. 133.

§ 61.—*Adolescentulum.* Pompey was twenty-three at the date of his raising an army in Picenum. See note on § 28.

Præter consuetudinem: 'Unconstitutional.'

Senatorio gradu. Some fix the age at which a man could enter the Senate at the 30th, others at the 27th year. Pompey was at this time twenty-four.

At eum quoque—putavit. 'But even that sight the Roman people not only supported, but deemed proper to be enjoyed and solemnised with every enthusiasm.'

§ 62.—*Duo consules.* The consuls for the year in which Pompey was sent to reinforce Metellus against Sertorius were Dec. Brutus and M. Æmilius, men wholly undistinguished.

Non-nemo, one word, like *non-nullus*. 'When there were several persons in the Senate to say.'

Ex senatusconsulto legibus solutus. The Senate had in course of time usurped the privilege which belonged to the people, of suspending laws in special cases.

Ullum alium magistratum. Cicero is thinking only of the *curule* offices—he does not reckon the *quæstorship*. Pompey was thirty-five when he was made consul.

Iterum eques. The extraordinary commands which Pompey had held did not admit him to the Senate.

§ 63. *A Q. Catuli auctoritate.* '*A*' here has the meaning of 'after,' which is common. 'After the expression of Catulus' opinion;' and, as they acted in accordance with his opinion, '*a*' here virtually comes to mean 'upon.'

Istis reclamantibus. 'While the other side were protesting.'

§ 64.—*Hoc si vos temere—conantur.* 'If you did this thing inconsiderately and little advanced the general good, their side

endeavour to overrule your partialities by their circumspection justifiably.' *Consulo*, with a dat., to take thought for the interests of a person.

§ 65.—*Etiamsi qui.* The '*qui*' depends on '*si*' in composition. 'Besides, even if there are a few men stricter than others in honour and self-control, yet, for the swarm of grasping men, no one supposes them to be such.'

§ 66.—*Pro sociis — amicos?* 'Do you think that you usually send an army on behalf of subjects against enemies, or against subjects and friends with enemies in imagination?'

Capere. 'Contain,' in the sense of 'finding room for.' 'What community is there in Asia which can accommodate the arrogance and assumption, I do not say of a general or a commissioner, but of a single tribune of soldiers?'

§ 67.- *Ecquam.* The '*ec*' prefixed to *quis* does not expect either a negative or a positive answer; it seems simply to add a little emphasis. 'Whether do you think any state has been tranquillised, which is wealthy?'

Pecunia publica might refer to money embezzled by these prætors, from sums paid to them by the provincials for the maintenance of the fleet, as it appears from the Verrines that the provinces were bound in some cases to furnish men and ships; probably, however, it means money from the imperial fund.

Classium nomine. '*Nomen*' was the regular word for an entry or heading in accounts.

Detrimentis accipiendis. This was a gross neglect of duty, as *detrimentum*, 'waste,' was a thing the prætor should have specially provided against. It was part of the formula for conferring absolute power on a consul, that he should see *ne quid detrimenti respublica capiat.*

Jacturæ. These were the extravagant commissions paid to the wire-pullers at Rome. *Conditionibus* were the terms on which appointments were made.

§ 68.—*P. Servilius Vatia* obtained the surname of Isauricus for the brilliant strategy he displayed in reducing Isaura, the capital of the Isaurians. He obtained a triumph B.C. 74. He was one of the leading men in the Senate, and enjoyed general respect.

C. Scribonius Curio carried on a war with great success against the Dardanians and Mæsians, and reached the river Danube, a feat not before achieved in those quarters.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, Pompey's *aide-de-camp* in the war against the Cilician pirates.

Pro: 'Judging by.' *Pro* in this sense signifies conformity to something, in keeping with something. Cnf. *Nunc te marmoreum pro tempore fecimus*, V. Ec. vii. 35.

§ 69.—*Auctore populo Romano*: 'The Roman people being your reference.' *Auctor* has so many technical senses that we cannot always be sure of which one we have before us. On the whole, perhaps, we may here take that meaning which

makes *auctor* the original source of a title, *e.g.* in sale the vendor would be *auctor.*

Vim aut minas. An allusion to the intimidation which Gabinius had encountered the previous year. 'I must impress on you that you must name the Roman people for your principals, and abide by your resolution.'

Beneficio. The prætorship was an '*honor*' conferred by vote of the Roman people, who were said to confer a *beneficium.* 'Preferment.'

Defero: 'Dedicate.'

Qui huic loco temploque præsident. Several temples were overlooked by the Forum: the temples of Vesta, Castor, Saturn, and Concord. The Rostra was itself a temple, as consecrated by the *augurs.*

§ 70.—*Quo putem.* The relative *quo* refers to a cognate accusative understood after *facinus*, its antecedent. 'And that I am not doing this as a deed by which I think?' 'not because I think.'

Ex cujusquam amplitudine, 'from anyone's aggrandisement.'

Nostra ratione vitæ. Cicero means, of course, his practice at the bar.

§ 71.—*Rationibus*: 'Interests.'

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